

Estate of the Late

Sir Edward Beatty.

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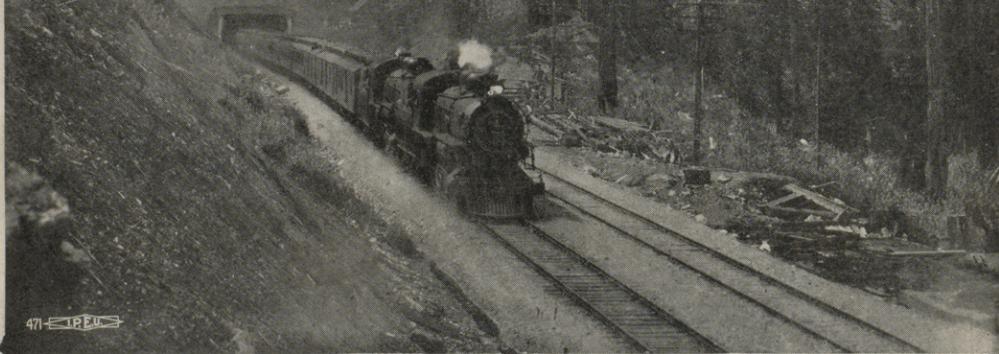
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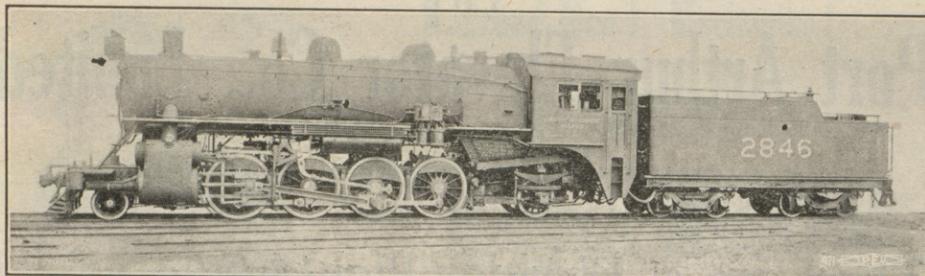
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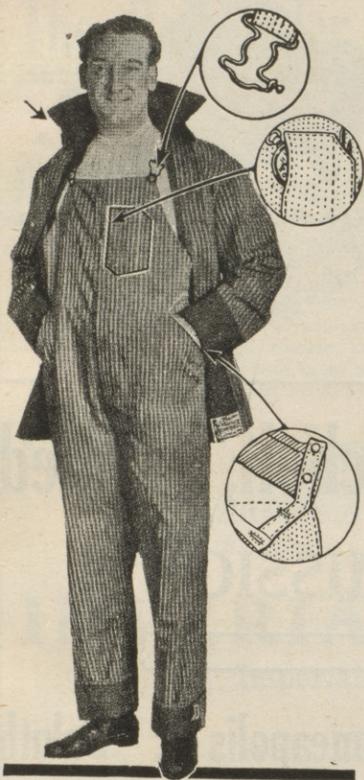
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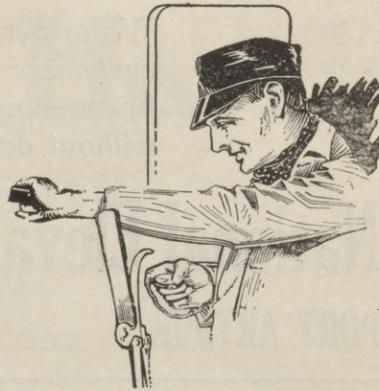
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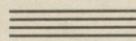
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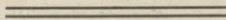
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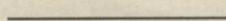
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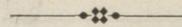
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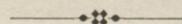
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The
Canadian Railroader
A JOURNAL OF THE PEOPLE

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MONTREAL, OCTOBER 1918.

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EDITORIAL

RECONSTRUCTION

THE days of reconstruction are upon us, and reconstruction takes in quite a lot of territory. Such little things as demobilization, military and civil, problems of unemployment, a study of trade and industry are involved. Some little consideration has to be given to labor; and the employer must be enabled to express himself on the subject. The political and industrial status of women, the formation of industrial councils, scientific management, soldiers and vocational training, education, scientific and industrial research, all need careful attention. The agricultural problems, the health and housing plans, the status of the State in relation to industry, taxation and finance, naturalization of aliens and many constitutional problems are involved in the process of reconstruction.

Some of our travelling politicians may profitably cease "banqueting" and settle down to a comfortable study of the country's needs. It wouldn't surprise us in the least if the government would regain consciousness and appoint a minister of reconstruction before the thousands and hundreds of thousands begin rambling the streets in the aimless pursuit of elusive jobs. Unless we get busy on reconstruction, some of us will be so reconstructed, when the boys in khaki come along, that our own mothers will need to consult the family album to discover some identification marks that will make us reasonably certain about ourselves.

The reconstruction until now has had a frozen architecture. Like the icicle everything hangs down from a drip here and a drop there. Let us all pull together and start building up something.

PROGRESS OF THE CLERGY

THE wonders of the world have not ceased to exist. The Methodist Fathers have declared themselves in favor of a social revolution and the Arch Bishop of Oxford has pronounced himself to be a constructive socialist. Whatever disension may have existed among the orthodox clergy concerning eternal hell fires, it seems to be generally recognized and admitted

that there has been hell on earth for the last four years and that no particular sin had to be committed by the individual to secure a reserved seat in the burning amphitheatre.

Apparently it took a violent bombardment to awaken some of our clerical friends to the knowledge of what every working man already knew, namely that it was hell to live on earth..... it was simply hell to try to earn an honest, decent living with the toil of hand or brain.

However violent the explosion that caused the awakening, we are more than glad and we rejoice sincerely at the promising result.

COMPENSATION ACT

THE workers of the Province of Quebec are more determined than ever to get a new Compensation Act. We believe that the only logical, common sense, way of securing legislation that will prove to be a real benefit is to have a commission appointed to study the question and recommend to the government the precise kind of legislation which will fill the bill.

We know very well, from our unfortunate experience, with the legislators at Quebec, that enlightened legislation on this question based upon social justice can not be hoped for from this barren quarter. A Commission which would have the opportunity of studying the experiences encountered in the other provinces would undoubtedly be able to make suggestions which would lead to the enactment of legislation that would be satisfactory to the workers.

“The Canadian Railroader” has only just begun its fight for a decent Compensation Act. Just as soon as this magazine is transformed into a weekly publication, we shall have an article each and every week on Compensation Acts until we attain our end. We shall be able to give a good sound argument in favor of new legislation, fifty-two weeks in the year.

There are fifty-seven varieties of Heinz’s pickles, but even this prosperous and highly productive institution will have nothing on us when it comes to giving facts and figures calling for a new Compensation Act.

We tried to get this desired change by quiet, gentlemanly negotiations. If it cannot be done this way, then nothing remains but to lay down a journalistic barrage that will cause the legislators, equipped with political respirators to cough with the dust that we will kick up. A good Compensation Act is our immediate objective and we are not going to stop until we go over the top.

ALL FOR ONE AND ONE FOR ALL

THE sudden termination of the war has confronted us with the necessity of rapid organization for peace. There is but one way to proceed. We must co-operate with energy, determination and good will to rebuild the social structure.

For the returned soldier to stand alone, politically and socially, would be a terrible mistake. For the middle classes, indifference would prove a fatal error. The farmer needs an extended vision, the problems of the manufacturer must be made known to him. If he were to seek legislation, destructive to the manufacturer, it would prove a national catastrophe. The manufacturer and the moneyed classes of the country cannot stand alone. For them to seek legislation solely in the interests of their class would be as ruinous to the future prosperity of the Dominion as similar action would be on the part of the trades unionists, were they to attempt to force legislation which would be solely in the interests of the working class.

We must all work together with an eye to the needs of the other fellow. For our own good, for the good of others, for the good of the Dominion, it must be all for one and one for all and all for the good of the country.

THE NO STRIKE ORDER IN COUNCIL

JUST before going into retirement, the Minister of Labor, Mr. James Crothers remarked, for publication, that Canada had been more free from strikes and industrial disturbances than any other belligerent country involved in the war. Upon the heels of this remarkable tribute to the patriotism and the self-sacrifice of the working people of Canada, an order in council was passed prohibiting a strike, under the dire penalty of imprisonment and a maximum penalty of \$1,000.00.

It was the working man in vast numbers who made the Army. It was the working man's wife who took up the burdensome task of conducting the family in the husband's absence, it was the working man who made the shell, it was his son who fired it, it was his daughter that bound the bloody wound, it was his money that helped to finance it..... It was his patriotism that won the war. It is his children that sleep in unmarked graves.

The censorship is still on and we will obey the law. There is no use in discussing this piece of legislation until it can be freely discussed. In the meantime those who were sponsors for it, will have to think up much better arguments for the defense of this particular order in council than have been advanced at this time, but the men who nailed the flag to the mast, with the calluses of their naked hands, will demand an explanation, when the right time comes, and that time will arrive when the safety of the Allied cause is absolutely and unequivocally assured.

THE NEW WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

OUR supporters will be glad to learn that plans are under way to transform the "Canadian Railroader" into a weekly newspaper. We believe that we can serve our supporters better by issuing a weekly publication. The problems of the immediate future will call for rapid changes and readjustments. Only the closest scrutiny of all proposed legislation will ensure a measure of protection to the workers.

To you, who have supported us so loyally we owe a debt of deepest gratitude. The "Canadian Railroader" in its present form is a financial success, entailing no monetary worries. To embark upon the new weekly field of journalism envolves financial anxieties. We feel it a duty to our people to serve them to the best of our ability and to the extent within our power and that is why, with all of its risks, we are leaving safe harbours and facing the open sea. In other words, we are with you and with you to the limit.

Making money is not our object. Our aim is to do something useful for the masses and to do all within our power to bring health, happiness and prosperity to our fellow country men. Our detailed plans will be published later.

MUNIFICENT SALARIES

Some of our dollar a year educators.

NEWSPAPERS have given great publicity to the so-called "dollar a year man"..... but we know of many whose pictures have never appeared in the press. Here are a few figures and a few facts that will jolt a little. Talk about a dollar a year !

In Chicago in the public schools, we find that principals begin at two thousand dollars and with an annual increase of one hundred and fifty dollars a year they can attain three thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars. In Boston they start on two thousand seven hundred dollars and can attain three thousand four hundred and fifty dollars from an increase of one hundred and fifty dollars a year. In Montreal one thousand five hundred dollars is considered a first class start and two thousand five hundred dollars all that any man should ever hope for, from an increase of one hundred dollars a year. Male teachers in Montreal public schools are ruined with a salary of eight hundred dollars a year. It is possible for them to secure twelve hundred dollars from an in-

crease of fifty dollars a year provided their health is good enough to enable them to live long enough. Inspectors in the Province of Quebec ramble around on a salary of fourteen hundred 'plunks' and three hundred 'simoleons' are allowed for travelling expenses. at an average expense of six dollars and fifty cents a day. They are at an average expense of six dollars and fifty cents a day. They saturated with the luxuries of life. Women teachers in Montreal begin with six hundred and fifty dollars and end up with a court bailiff. The janitor is the nabob of the bunch. One hundred and ten "iron rollers" a month keeps him with his ton of coal and a turkey for Christmas. In the country elementary schools thirty-one "piastres" is paid to the little demure school ma'am. In such districts where schools are in session six months, the government squanders thirty-five dollars a month on the disciples of education.

We are absolutely opposed to this flagrant rain of extravagance. We demand that an end shall be put to this prodigal spending of the public money. We do not propose that this country shall be ruined by showering the luxuries of life upon men and women who persist in demanding real money in return for educational services.

THE WHOLE SYSTEM IS WRONG ! WHY NOT DO IT BY CORRESPONDENCE ? A great national correspondence school with some contractor politician as director general of the whole show.— this is our idea.

Accidents at Work

WORKMEN !- If you meet with an accident while at work justifying a claim for damages, do not risk costly errors, bring your claim to us. This work is our specialty and it will be your advantage to avail yourself of our experience.

WE ALSO HANDLE

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of every nature.

CANADIAN ADJUSTMENT BUREAU 224 St. James Street
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Our Platform and An Appeal to You

This is written at an hour when thrones are crashing and ancient crowns are tumbling over the war withered heads of the Old Order. The steel throats of the guns are booming in cyclonic salvos, the last rights of the stricken monster called, MIGHT.

It has been tracked to its lair. It took millions of men, it took thousands of guns, it took wealth untold, it took lives uncountable, it filled the world with bitter tears and wove into the fabric of the human family an interminable shroud. We fertilized the fields with brain and poured our blood upon the rocks and now it's caged with all its cruel and crafty friends—Might is done—greed is done, superstition, ignorance, lust, they all are done. The great question is what are we going to put in the place of the old monstrosity?

The great world war has disrupted the very foundations of the old political and economic systems under which we have so recklessly been living. A great light seems to have dawned upon the minds of the people: the tremendous restraints placed upon them through the necessities of the war have stimulated a burning desire for freedom and fraternity and the principles of equality and social justice. The growing conviction in the public mind is that only reforms of the greatest magnitude with relation to the common people can possibly compensate for the unimaginable suffering to which they have subjected themselves. The masses seem to sense that nothing short of a thorough reorganization of society is worth while.

The vital thing is to crystallize and to translate into fact by political action the glittering spirit and the burning public impulse for honest democracy in the public life.

The people of a nation cannot advance beyond the men who make its laws. The fountain head of liberty and social justice is the parliament where the laws governing the daily lives of every man, woman and child are made. This war has demonstrated, as years of theory never might have done, the invincible power of the law. The people have just begun to learn what can be accomplished by legislation. A few men decide that the clock shall be set forward an hour. The next day it is law and on the following day millions of people change the routine of their lives and live and adapt themselves to the new system. A small group of law makers decide to take a registration of the man and woman power of the Dominion. A new order is issued and the lives of millions become an open book in the archives of the government. It is desired to regulate the supply and distribution of coal; a matter of life and death. The law maker, again at work regulates the amount of coal you may burn in your furnace. This is determined by men you have never seen, do not know and probably never will meet. It is decided to secure a greater number of soldiers for the Western Front. The law makers declare that the life of the subject is the property of the State. Men who never dreamed of visiting even the city nearest to the agricultural community in which they lived, rode away on the seas to strange lands whose location they could not identify on the map.

Even the powerful press of the country, newspapers that have been in the habit of making and unmaking Premiers and Presidents, is now in the grip of the law. The censorship, consisting of a very few men, have been given the legal power, at the stroke of a pen, to silence the million-tongued press.

Free speech and the right of assembly, the twin guardian angels of the liberty and democracy of our day, have not escaped legal regulation.

The suspension of the rights of Habeas Corpus as affecting military service, in fact the supercedence of the very parliament itself by the War Council eloquently attests the power and the possibilities of legislation.

In enumerating these particular acts of legislation, we are not criticising those upon whose shoulders it has fallen to conduct the political affairs of Canada during the terrible period of this world war. The Allied armies have been hard pressed in Europe during the last four years. There were moments, and many of them, when the very existence of democracy itself was threatened with extinction. There was not a man to spare, not a shell too many. Very evidently every democratic nation participating in the Allied Cause was obliged to transform itself on a war basis with dispatch and efficiency. These laws alone made it possible, and that is the reason why they have been accepted by the people.

Labor bowed its head, and accepted, and obeyed these laws, for the period of the war, to aid in crushing the hydra-headed monster of despotism and tyranny which raised its head in Europe, threatening and imperiling the principles for which free men had fought a thousand bitter industrial battles in the past. For the period of the war and for the period of the war only will the workers tolerate such legislation. There is no power on earth that can perpetuate these laws beyond the duration of the present world conflict.

The workers recognize the tremendous power now concentrated in a very few hands. We have learned with startling suddenness the invincible power of the law. It has become increasingly clear that in the future, in the fervid, feverish days of reconstruction that are soon to come, labor must be directly represented in the law making bodies of the Dominion if the working classes are to secure the kind of legislation that will protect their interests. It is for this purpose that the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada has been formed.

In every definite terms we state what our national and international policy is and we herewith submit both to your judgment. As we are not fortunate enough to possess our own newspapers, we must obtain the widest possible circulation of our proposals in the form of leaflets, pamphlets and well organized propaganda as expressed in our official magazine, "The Canadian Railroader."

THE NECESSARY MEANS

To carry out this policy, successfully, we must all do our share. We need to raise large sums of money. We need a local organization in every political district in the Dominion. There are broadly speaking 147,000 railroadmen in Canada. If every man will do his bit, we will have enough money on hand at the next election, to ensure the success of our candidates at the polls. Read our platform and the constitution carefully; help us elect good men, men of our own class, men who have lived with us, who know us and comprehend our needs. Help us to elect these men to office so that we may be able to secure the passage of legislation that will make the Dominion of Canada the freest and most democratic country on earth, a land where the people may live out their lives in peace under laws that are made for the many and not for the few. "The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada" is a non partisan political and educational association and because of the manner in which it is organized, it can never become the instrument or plaything of a small group of any class, particularly of wealthy men.

FINANCE

"The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada" is financed entirely by its members who contribute \$2.00 a year in membership fees. If a local has been established in your city \$1.00 remains in the local treasury and the other dollar is sent by the local organization to our Dominion Headquarters, 65 Dan-durand Building, Montreal, Que. In case no local has been established in your community, send the membership fee of \$2.00 directly to Dominion Headquarters.

HOW THE FUNDS WILL BE USED

The funds accumulating in the Dominion Headquarters are used for political and educational propaganda; the development of the organization; the preparation of pamphlets and leaflets and the financing of the various political campaigns where favorable opportunities develop, to elect our candidates. The treasurer is under bond and the books are audited by a firm of accountants.

HOW TO BECOME A MEMBER

Application blanks will be mailed on request. Merely fill out the application blank, buy a postal order for \$2.00 and send it in to Dominion Headquarters. Your membership card will be forwarded by return mail.

REMEMBER

"The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada" will serve the cause of real democracy. It will place men of our kind, in the legislative halls, throughout the Dominion; men who will wage warfare on plutocracy, despotism, economic privileges and injustice and upon all those evil forces, which burden the people, and rob them of the happiness of living, which is their natural heritage. Join this great organization in the interests of education and clean politics. To-day is the day and this is the hour. Become a member now.

GEORGE PIERCE, *Editor.*

Direct Private Wire Connections With All Offices and With Laidlaw & Co., N. Y.

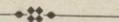
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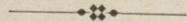
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PYORRHOEA

ALVEOLARIS, (Riggs' Disease).

This disagreeable affection was for many years the *bête noire* of dentistry. It is a disease of the membrane and structure surrounding the roots of teeth; it is characterized by a discharge of pus from the free margin of the gum and is due to long continued irritating influences. Pockets form under the gum along the side of the root owing to the destruction of the vital membrane and the alveolar process, or supporting structure, due to the action of pus. The teeth become loosened, elongated and disarranged, so that frequently teeth that are themselves structurally perfectly sound in all respects are caused to fall out and be lost.

Pyorrhoea is frequently the cause of stomach and bowel disorders owing to constant swallowing of pus germs; indeed, many are treating for systematic disorders which would be eliminated by treatment of the Pyorrhoea. Don't inflict this disease upon yourself, nor its disagreeable features upon your friends. A few minutes talk with the New York Dental Co., Ltd., 288 St. Catherine Street West, Montreal, will convince you that you need suffer no longer. You can't do a good thing too soon.

PLATFORM

of the

FIFTH SUNDAY MEETING ASSOCIATION OF CANADA

“The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada,” in convention assembled, makes this declaration of principles, which it regards as a covenant with the Canadian Railroadmen in particular and the Canadian public in general. Our aim is the attainment of true democracy in government and industry, through education and political organization, enabling the people to procure such legislative enactments, as will ensure the abolition of all special privileges and the most widely diffused equalities of opportunity in all that concerns the lives of our citizens.

EDUCATION

We pledge ourselves to support all educational plans and objects municipal, provincial and dominion where the evident purpose is to advance the standard of education on a par with the most enlightened and progressive educational systems in force in any part of the world. We especially aim through the medium of Fifth Sunday Meetings and our own press, the *Canadian Railroader*, to present to the people, truthfully, the latest and most important political, social and industrial developments, with the object of enabling our membership to vote in the interest of the common welfare.

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

1.—We strongly support the abolition of all property qualifications for the franchise or for election to public office.

2.—In order that the people may have the democratic right to originate and reject legislation and to control elected representatives, we advocate the adoption by city, county, province and Dominion Government of the Initiative Referendum and Recall.

3.—We favor democratic government, therefore all the legislators, enacting laws under which the people live, should be elected by the popular vote of the people, to accomplish which we favor the adoption of a system of proportional representation so as to secure to every party or considerable group, representation to the legislatures of the provinces, municipal councils and the house of commons, in proportion to their numerical strength.

4.—We stand for absolute freedom of speech and press, so that they may guard the democracy of our institutions. We favor the passage of a law, compelling all newspapers and periodicals to publish in all issues a complete list of all shareholders and bondholders.

5.—We advocate the abolition of contract prison labor, the employment and instruction of prisoners under proper conditions in serviceable trades and occupations, and the payment of fixed wages for the support of their families, reasonable deduction to be made for their own maintenance. We favor the proper segregation of prisoners in accordance with their physical and mental ability and moral status and the establishment in all prisons of the Honor System of self-government. We favor publicity for all that goes on within

prison walls, especially for all punishments for infraction of prison rules. This should also apply to all houses of correction and institutions of detention.

6.—We favor the revision of the Workmen's Compensation Acts in all provinces that do not conform to the requirements of the workers.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Equality of Economic Opportunity is essential to industrial democracy. We therefore favor the following measures as a means to secure that end:

1.—*Municipal Ownership*: Municipal ownership, operation and democratic control of all the public utilities and all services essentially monopolistic in nature.

2.—*Democratic Taxation*: (a) The gradual and progressive transfer of taxes, from improvements and all products of labor to land values, so as to break up land monopoly and to increase opportunities for production.

(b) Rapidly progressive taxation of incomes and inheritances, with heavier rates on incomes from investments than from personal services.

3.—*Assistance to Farmers*: We urge as a means of encouraging farmers the establishment of Dominion co-operative banks to assist those desiring to acquire farm lands or equipment through long time loans with reasonable interest rates and the general extension of credit.

4.—Advances upon crops or products in storage.

5.—Untaxing all improvements, crop stocks and all farm equipment. Progressive taxation of land unutilized with a minimum exemption for homesteads, so as to render it unprofitable to hold idle large tracts of arable lands.

6.—*Labor Legislation*: We hail, as one of the important recent developments of industrial democracy, the achievement of union labor conditions in industrial establishments engaged in government work, whether such establishments are owned and operated by the government, or by private contractors. This is sound social policy, and we favor its extension, to all work performed by, or for the government.

7.—We urge that upon all boards or commissions created for the management of public industries or services, or for the supervision of private enterprises, the workers shall have adequate representation.

8.—*Extension of Postal System*: We favor the inauguration of the postal savings system to the end, that deposits may be greatly encouraged. We favor the extension of the parcel post, so that the public may get the best possible services, at reasonable cost.

9.—We favor such scientific regulation of immigration, as will limit the number of immigrants, to the capacity of our country, to assimilate them, without lowering our industrial, political or social standards.

10.—We favor the securing to every worker, of a rest period, of not less than a day and a half in each week.

11.—We favor the protection of workers, by government insurance against sickness, injury and death, together with maternity benefits and old age pensions.

12.—We favor a more rigorous and effective inspection of buildings, factories, workshops and mines, for the better protection of the workers.

13.—We favor the adequate protection of children, by the enactment and rigid enforcement, of Provincial and National Child Labor Laws.

14.—We favor the extension of the labor bureau system, to distribute labor, in accordance with supply and demand, and the establishment of a system, for placing settlers on unoccupied lands, thereby relieving congestion in industrial centres.

16.—We believe the government of Canada should actively foster and encourage the development of co-operative producing and trading associations, to the end, that the workers of the nation may be increasingly enabled to control the economic conditions of their own lives.

17.—We urge the development of instrumentalities, which shall guarantee to every willing worker, opportunity to secure employment adapted to his capacities, and to this end, advocate technical schools and national training academies.

17.—We believe that the day of general election should be made a legal holiday.

18.—We believe in universal suffrage for both sexes, the principle of one man, one woman one vote, and in cases where through vocation the voter is compelled to be absent on the day of election, we favor a system, which will enable him to cast his ballot legally.

19.—We believe in the establishment of a minimum wage, to be as broad in its scope as any similar enactments, legalized within the British Empire.

20.—We declare ourselves in favor of adequate pensions to be granted to all disabled soldiers, either officers or men, and for widow and orphans, dependent on those who have served the country's cause.

21.—We favor reconstruction, re-habilitating and vocational plans, which will assist the soldier to life's comforts, and provide the necessities of life.

22.—We favor, wholeheartedly, pensions for mothers with dependent children.

23.—We favor the national workmen's housing schemes, on a par with the most progressive plans, developed by any country at any time.

INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRACY

1.—*Abolition of Secret Diplomacy:* We urge the completed democratization of our foreign policy and international regulations, believing that the making of secret treaties and agreements, by governments, without the sanction of their peoples, is one of the chief causes of international misunderstandings and wars. We urge that the government of Canada shall not make any treaty or agreement, with any nation or nations, except in open session of the Parliament. We further urge, that, in the councils of the nation, the government of Canada shall urge that the sanction of the peoples shall be made essential to any treaties or agreements.

2.—*International Policy:* In the interest of world peace, and a higher civilization, we demand that the representatives of this Dominion in the councils of nations urge the following principles:

The sea and all waterways flowing into the sea must be open without hindrance to the peaceful navigation of all peoples. The duty of policing the seas must be made the collective function of the associated nations.

All strategic ocean waterways must be internationalized, and their protection be the function of the associated nations.

While we believe that, as a general principle, a protective tariff is indefensible, yet, with the nations of the world engaged in warfare, we recognize that conditions in trade and commerce, pending the termination of the conflict, are indefinable, and therefore whether the tariff should be eliminated, by gradual readjustment, or whether the reforms need to be sharp and radical, can only be determined, when the factors of trade and commerce, arising out of the smoke of war, become discernable.

3.—*Foreign Investments* — Foreign investments should bear their own risks. They should receive no military support. Canada should refrain from becoming a guarantor of foreign investments.

4.—*International Organization:* We stand for the creation of an international tribunal, so constituted, as to represent the weak as well as the powerful nations, for the settlement of disputes between nations, and we urge the development of effective methods of enforcing the decisions of such tribunal.

We favor the formation of a union of nations of the world for the purpose of enforcing international equality and the maintenance of peace.

We hope for the establishment of a League of Nations, so that, through this instrumentality, after the great world war is over, all standing armies can be disbanded; every form of military training and military service abandoned; and the production of all forms of munitions, or instruments of warfare, should be forbidden, to the end that mankind may live in peace.

To secure political action in regard to this question, it is our object and aim, through *education and political organization*, to elect as representatives, the greatest possible number of our members, who are pledged to the above ideas.

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MONTREAL

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

FIFTH SUNDAY MEETING ASSOCIATION OF CANADA

ARTICLE I

Section 1.—This organization shall be called the "Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada."

Section 2.—The object and aim of this Association shall be to bring about, by direct political action, the election to office of the greatest possible number of the country's workmen (those who toil by hand or brain) as will secure the fullest individual liberty, and the most widely diffused equality of opportunity, in all that concerns the lives of our citizens, with the ultimate aim of the attainment of real democracy in government and industry.

ARTICLE II

Membership.

Section 1.—Every man who is a railroadman in Canada, in any branch of the service, and in addition all workers in any calling or profession, who evidence their sympathy, and who have made written application, shall upon the payment of the membership fee of \$2.00, become a member of this organization.

Section 2.—A member of the Association shall be recognized as such, by all local branches, in any part of the Dominion.

Section 3.—All applications for membership shall be sent to headquarters together with the fees paid thereon, and each member shall be supplied by the Head Office, with an official membership card. The Executive Committee, however, may provide for the delivery of cards to the local chairman or other duly authorized officials who shall issue same to members, making a report thereof to the Head Office and to the local office in each case. Members shall be recognized as such only on presentation of cards when requested. The Executive Committee may create honorary members.

Section 4.—Every active member shall pay \$2.00 per calendar year in advance as dues.

Section 5.—Those sympathizers with the principles of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada, who do not desire to become active members thereof, may become contributing members.

ARTICLE III

Organization.

Section 1.—The affairs of the Association shall be administered by:

- (1) A Dominion Advisory Committee.
- (2) A Dominion Executive Committee.
- (3) Officials and Committee of the above.
- (4) By Dominion Conventions.
- (5) By local organizations hereinafter provided for.
- (6) By members voting as hereinafter provided for.

Section 2.—The Executive Committee shall be composed of not less than fifteen nor more than twenty-five duly nominated and elected by the Hare System of Proportional Representation (the single transferable vote) of the membership in convention and shall hold office for three years. They shall employ and have control of all officials and employees of this organization, subject to the provisions of its constitution and shall direct its business policies and methods.

Advisory Committee.

Section 3.—Each Dominion convention shall elect, by proportional representation, a committee of not less than six (6) to be known as the Advisory Committee, which shall render such assistance as the committees or officials of the Association may request, provided the Executive Committee shall have power to add members to the Advisory Committee.

Dominion Convention.

Section 4.—The members of the organization in each local shall elect one of their members in accordance with this constitution to sit as a member of the Dominion Convention.

Officials.

Section 5.—Each convention shall elect the officers, consisting of a President, of one or more vice-presidents, a secretary and treasurer, or a Secretary-treasurer. All officers may be paid for services rendered and shall have the rights, powers and duties implied in their titles. So far as their official rights and duties are concerned, they may be at any time removed by the Executive Committee, subject to the referendum as provided for herein. Any official in charge of funds shall give such bonds as the Executive Committee shall determine.

ARTICLE IV

Powers of the Executive Committee.

Section 1.—The Executive Committee shall decide the time and place of all regular and special

Dominion conventions and make full arrangements therefor. It may call special conventions when deemed advisable and provide rules for action until the convention itself shall provide for them. It shall make reports or cause officials to make reports periodically to the members of the Dominion Executive and when deemed necessary, have the same published for the information of the members.

Section 2.—It shall determine the location of the headquarters and of any other offices which it deems advisable. Such offices shall work under the direction of the Dominion Executive and make weekly reports thereto. Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be held the second week in September of each year, and at such time and place as the Executive Committee may determine. Upon petition of any five members of the Executive Committee, the chairman of said committee shall call a meeting of that organization.

ARTICLE V

Dominion Conventions.

Regular Dominion Conventions of the organization shall be held at least once in three years or whenever the Executive Committee shall determine. The election of delegates to the Dominion convention shall, whenever possible, be completed at least thirty days preceding the convention and the respective local secretaries shall furnish the General Secretary with the names of the accredited delegates immediately after such election.

At the time and place set for opening the convention, the President, or in his absence, refusal or inability to act, a vice-president shall call the convention to order. The secretary shall call the roll of uncontested delegates and then the roll of those claiming seats as to whom there is a contest. All the claimants shall be allowed to speak on the floor only as to his right to sit as a delegate. If necessary, for the purpose of organization, the votes of the contested delegates whom the Executive Committee may have held entitled to a seat shall be taken and counted.

Each local organization shall be entitled to one delegate to the Dominion convention.

ARTICLE VI

Duties of Officers.

Section 1.—*The Duties of the President* — He shall preside at all meetings of the Executive Committee and shall perform its executive duties when the Executive Committee is not in session and shall exercise a general supervision over the affairs of the Association, if occasion requires he shall have power to appoint assistants.

In the event of death, resignation or removal of an officer or member of the Executive Committee, the Executive Committee shall appoint a successor

to fill the vacancy thus created until the following election.

Section 2.—*Duties of the Vice-Presidents.* — He shall assist the president in the discharge of his duties during sessions of the Executive Committee and in case of absence of the President he shall preside at meetings, having the same power as the president.

Section 3.—*Duties of the Secretary-Treasurer* — He shall keep a true and a correct record of all of the proceedings of the Executive Committee. He shall sign and keep all important papers, seals, and letters of authority emanating from the Association at each annual meeting of the Executive Committee. He shall submit a complete report of all receipts and expenditures of all the funds from the date of the last meeting.

He shall receive all moneys due the Association and issue receipts for the same. He shall be responsible, in conjunction with the President, for the funds and properties of the Association and shall furnish a bond of not less than one thousand dollars or such other amount as may be determined by the Executive Committee. He shall, in conjunction with the President, make the necessary arrangements for all meetings.

ARTICLE VII

Use of Funds.

The funds of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association shall be used for the extension of the Fifth Sunday Meeting movement.

ARTICLE VIII

Reports of Officers.

At each annual meeting of the Executive Committee, the President, or Vice-President and the Secretary-Treasurer shall make a complete report showing the work performed during the year together with all vouchers proving expenses incurred.

ARTICLE IX

Compensation of Officers.

All members of the Executive Committee shall serve without compensation with the exception of the President whose salary shall be determined by the Executive Committee. When time is lost an itemized account shall be rendered to the Secretary-Treasurer and submitted to the President for approval, whereupon the same shall be paid immediately by the Treasurer.

ARTICLE X

Disbursement of Funds.

The President and Secretary-Treasurer or Treasurer shall be equally responsible for all disbursements. All cheques, etc., shall be signed by both, otherwise they shall be invalid.

ARTICLE XI

Local Organizations.

Section 1.—The Executive Committee shall provide for organizations throughout the Dominion. Such organizations shall exercise the local functions of the association. Wherever any organization shall have become ineffective the Executive Committee shall have the power to withdraw its charter or to effect a complete reorganization thereof.

Section 2.—Any Convention of the local organization may adopt such a platform as it chooses, always provided it is in conformity with the Dominion platform and under authority of the Executive Committee.

Section 3.—Such local organizations shall furnish to the Executive Committee from time to time a report of their work. They shall care for all political activities of the Association; the nomination of candidates, the conducting of campaigns and the like. In every respect they will assist and work in harmony with the Executive Committee and its employees.

Section 4.—Local branches shall have power to receive contributions for carrying on their educational and political campaign work and they shall be furnished by the Dominion Executive with names and addresses of all persons resident within their district who shall become members of the Association and all persons known to be sympathetic therewith.

ARTICLE XII

Initiative, Referendum and Recall.

Section 1.—Members of the Association may transmit to the head office any resolution or statement by way of amendment to this constitution or revisions of the Association platform or otherwise. Such proposed revisions shall be communicated to the Resolutions Committee of the Dominion Convention or to the Executive Committee, at its meetings, for such action as may be requested by the proposer thereof.

Section 2.—Should such resolution or statement be rejected or modified, it shall on a request for a referendum by ten delegates of the Dominion Convention be submitted to the full convention. If two-thirds of the convention vote for a referendum the Executive Committee shall provide for such referendum of the membership of the Association to be taken by mail or through the locals. A majority of the votes cast by the membership of the Association shall be required to adopt the proposals.

Section 3.—The above shall be construed to apply to any proposal for the modification or repeal of any regulation adopted by authority of the Association and to any motion for the discharge of any official.

ARTICLE XIII

Dominion Organizers.

Section 1.—The activities of the Association shall be in control of the President and such sub-committees as the Executive may appoint.

Section 2.—The Executive Committee shall, whenever it deems necessary and practicable, supplement the organization work (as distinguished from the direct political activities of local organizations) by the employment of organizers for the district with the concurrence of the local associations. Such representatives shall be employed by the Association and shall render reports as directed by the President. The compensation of organizers shall be defrayed by the Dominion and local authorities in such proportion as may be arranged by them. Such organizers shall have no authority over the regularly constituted local authorities of the Association; shall not be officers thereof, nor interfere in any manner with the local officers.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

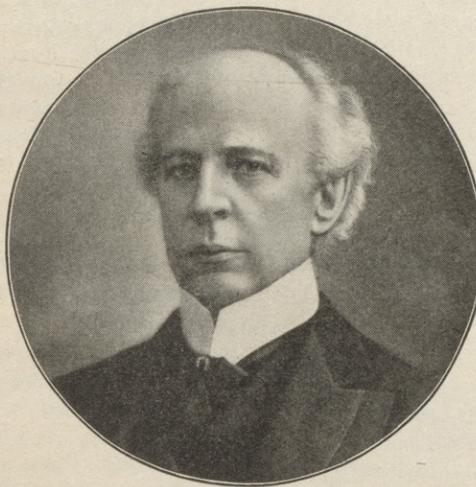
- 1.—Roll call of officers.
- 2.—Examination of credentials.
- 3.—Roll call of delegates.
- 4.—Reading minutes of previous meetings.
- 5.—Communications.
- 6.—Appointment of committees.
- 7.—Reports of committees.
- 8.—Unfinished business.
- 9.—New business.
- 10.—Resolutions and motions.
- 11.—Nomination and election of officers.
- 12.—Discharging committees.
- 13.—Debate.
- 14.—Closing.

SUBSCRIBE
 ————— **TO THE** —————
CANADIAN
RAILROADER

Fifth Sunday Meeting at St. Denis Theatre

WONDERFUL SUCCESS

Four Thousand People Hear Sir Wilfrid Laurier.—Thousands Turned Away.
—Street Cars Held Up by the Dense Crowds.



Prominent citizens on the platform were Mayor Martin, the Honorable Sydney Fisher, the Honorable Chas. Marcil, Mr. P. R. DuTremblay, M.P., Mr. Jos. Archambault, M.P., Mr. Pierre Casgrain, M.P., Mr. A. R. McMaster, M.P., Mr. L. A. Lapointe, M.P., Commissioner Alphonse Verville, M.P., Ex-Controller Jos. Ainey, Mr. Gustave Franceq, S. W. Jacobs, M.P., Commissioner Gaspard Deserres, Mr. Athanase David, M.P.P., Dr. Milton Hersey, Mr. J. T. Foster, Mr. George Pierce, Mr. J. W. Domville, Mr. Cunningham, representing Sir George Bury, Mr. Price, General Manager C.P.R., Mr. George Hodge, Assistant General Manager and Mr. Ash Kennedy, Assistant Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

Addresses given at the meeting of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada, held in the St. Denis Theatre, Sept. 29, 1918, the President J. A. Woodward, in the chair.

Mayor Martin, at the invitation of the Chairman, welcomed Sir Wilfrid Laurier to the City. He said it was an honor for him to do so, and referring to the audience which filled every part of the great theatre said that the mention

of Sir Wilfrid's name was enough to not only fill that theatre but twenty-five other buildings of similar size.

Mr. Woodward.—Ladies and Gentlemen: It is indeed a great pleasure for me to extend a very hearty welcome to all, especially to the ladies. This is the first of our Fifth Sunday meetings to which we have invited the ladies. We realize that the women are taking a leading part in the educational and industrial life of our country and their power, politically will be felt more and more in the years to come. Conditions, arising out of the war, have brought about these changes. She has cast off the badge of humility and servitude. We find her in almost every industry under the sun, filling the places of the men who are fighting in the armies of democracy, working with wonderful energy and to a great measure, making it possible that the armies of Freedom and Right may be victorious over the armies of Autocracy and Might. At the last meeting of the Executive Committee of our organization, we decided to invite the women of our Dominion to membership so that under proper organization, they may use their newfound power, in the interest of humanity in this and future generations. Again, I welcome you with the hope that at our next meeting, the mothers, wives and sisters of our members and friends will be in attendance in greater numbers.

While I realize that it is the duty of the Chairman to take up as little time as possible, I think it will be interesting as well as profitable for me to outline the work of our Association. It has three cardinal principles. 1st.—Direct political representation of the country's workmen (those who toil by hand or brain). 2nd.—The advancement of education on a par with the most enlightened policies to be found in any part of the world. 3rd.—Methodical organization of the Dominion into political dis-

tricts where capable men, developed by the movement may be brought forward and run for office in the Dominion, Provincial and Municipal elections, backed by a carefully and methodically prepared organization to insure success.

We believe that through intelligent and energetic organization, our Association will become a great factor in solving the economic and political problems of our day, and especially in the rebuilding of the country, under the new democracy which is dawning upon the world. Democracies must be real democracies, not in name only, but must conquer in the industrial as well as in the military field. Our object is to assist in all reforms which will improve the economic position of the people.

We are appealing to everyone of the country's workers to become members of our Association at the small fee of \$2.00 a year or in other words, to invest a little more than one-half a cent a day in the interest of good government, helping to make the Dominion of Canada a better, brighter and a happier country for the masses of the people to live in.

I am a great believer and ardent supporter of Trades Unionism and recognize that the Canadian Labor Movement has accomplished much. It is only necessary to contrast the conditions of the labor movement twenty-five years ago with conditions as they exist today to realize the vast strides they have made; and if they are to continue this progress, they must broaden out and become more than a means to increase wages and reduce working hours. They must take an active part in the emancipation of human liberty, progress and the brotherhood of man, and above all things, they should demand representation upon each and every commission and legislative body in Canada.

I will not say that a wealthy man would not make a good legislator, I will not say that a man of high social standing would not make a good legislator, but on the other hand, there is no reason why a working man should not also make a good legislator. In my own personal opinion there is every reason why he should. The question we should ask is not what a man possesses or

what his social position is, but what sort of vision has he, what is his outlook, what is he aiming at and what is his character.

Our Association as it spreads throughout the Dominion will develop the right sort of men with the right sort of vision and our funds will be used to finance the election of these men to the Legislative Halls throughout the Dominion. We are a non-partisan political and educational organization, and our intention is to support only those who will propagate our platform. We have received letters regretting their inability to attend from Sir Lomer Gouin, the Hon. C. C. Ballantyne and other friends, characteristic of these, may I be permitted to read one or two.

GRAND LODGE
BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD
TRAINMEN

General Offices, Cleveland, Ohio.
September 23, 1918.

Mr. J. A. Woodward, Chairman,
Fifth Sunday Meeting Association
of Canada,
648 Champagneur Ave.,
Montreal, Que.

Dear Sir and Brother:—

This will acknowledge your communication of the 18th, very kindly inviting me to attend a meeting of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada on the 29th inst. at Montreal, at which the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier will make an address.

I am sure you know me sufficiently well to understand that if the work of the Brotherhood would at all permit, I would be glad to attend. I am, however, dated at Washington in connection with additional wage increases on the 30th inst., and it would be impossible for me to attend the meeting in Montreal and be in Washington as scheduled.

With personal best wishes, I am,
Fraternally yours,
W. G. LEE, President.

CANADIAN COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURE

613 Boyd Building, Winnipeg.
September 24, 1918.

Mr. J. A. Woodward, Chairman,
Fifth Sunday Meeting Association
of Canada,
648 Champagneur Avenue,
Montreal, Que.

Dear Mr. Woodward:—

I am in receipt of your favor of the 17th inst., extending an invitation to myself or any officer of our organization to attend your meeting to be addressed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in Montreal on the 29th inst.

We are very sorry that on account of the distance and the difficulty of any of our representatives attending, we cannot enjoy the pleasure of being with you at your meeting on the 29th. We are, however, in accord with, and in full sympathy with the aims and purposes of your movement and glad to know that it is steadily developing and you can count on our co-operation whenever you are prepared to establish branches of your movement in the Western Provinces. We will be glad to get a copy of your constitution as soon as you have them ready for distribution. I am,

Yours truly,
Canadian Council of Agriculture,
Per R. MCKENZIE.

We have the privilege and indeed the great honor of having with us tonight our distinguished veteran statesman, the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, but before I call on him to address you, I am going to ask Professor J. A. Dale, of McGill University to speak. It is not necessary to make any introductory remarks because our friend is very well and favorably known in our City.

Professor J. A. DALE:—I accept as one of the greatest compliments that could have been paid to me the description by which your chairman has just introduced me as "our friend". He will remember the occasion on which I first addressed a gathering of railroadmen in which I told those men of the experience I had had of similar gatherings and movements

in the Old Country. I told him how I remembered a movement beginning in little groups of men here and there who set out with exactly the same resolve that he and his friends set out with here in Canada; namely to give labor a voice, powerful both in knowledge and in expression. They set out for direct political representation, not solely in the interests of the material welfare of their class, but in the fullest interest of the whole community I saw such bodies of men set to work organizing, as this Association proposes to do, here and there, first of all only a few sections of the country, gradually spreading as the years went on till after fifteen years of agitation, 2,500 trades unions, co-operative societies and other representative groups were gathered behind the movement. For this Association represents a great alliance, an alliance of education and political power. We speak, and with just pride of our alliance in the war. We have said over and over again that this war is a war of ideals. I suppose if I were to ask what you hoped to gain when we have won this war, most of you would say that chief among its gains was a fair chance for democracy. But we need to be careful about our use of words. What if the gaining of one victory, that victory in the war in which we are now engaged, the victory which must and will be won, we forget the ideals that must be fought into practice on the fields of peace, what if we lose any of the fruits of our long agony because we forgot in the time of victory any of that pure enthusiasm with which we unsheathed the sword. Most of us meant, when we entered into this war, a war we hated and most emphatically did not want, that if anything was to come of it, it was to come by the triumph of something which we held to be the object of society, which was attacked by those who did not hold it. We say of our enemies, Prussians and Turks, that their experience of life and their ideals of life are not those from which we are hoping to develop our new democracy of the future. How can they with such reactionary ideals, as govern their rulers possibly help to develop such a civilization as we have been struggling for, for generations and generations, struggling towards indivi-

dual freedom and a chance for development for every member of the community. I don't say we have made a success of it, and I have said, often, what a mess we have made of it; but still we have always meant that democracy shall stand for freedom of individual development and freedom of individual expression.

Let us look for just a few moments at the meaning of that word democracy. It is not something that can be installed like a central heating system or like a political party machine, but it is quite seriously a way of living and a way of thinking. Its working out into forms of government is a long process. Even if we could have perfect democratical institutions given us, which we had not the glory of the discipline of creating, we should still need to deserve them or we would assuredly lose them because such a democracy as we dream of, would need constantly to be refreshed and recreated by the lives and examples and the thinking and ideals of individual men and women. I spoke of the great alliance between education and political power. We do not know what strategy those Allies will invent. We do not know what victory they will win. But we trust them all the same, because we know their method will be based on knowledge, that is, organized common sense. And we know that their battle cry will be that which is the essential foundation of a civilized state, namely justice. Not justice in the abstract, but justice between men and men, justice between man and woman. You know until comparatively recently justice between man and man did not include justice between man and woman. Yet it is most emphatically true that there can be no possible democracy which does not take into its counsels and which does not draw its ideals from the thought of its women as well as from the thought of its men. For the business of true democracy, the conservation of individuals in co-operation demands both the experience they share and the special experience they cannot share. Again I would say that the justice that we have thought of in our politics has not yet been fully conceived as between man and child either. We have not yet come to the

position when we can honestly say that we, as a state are doing the best for our children. We are not. We are spending very little on our education. Even those of us who grumble at the taxes will have to admit that, and we are getting what those who pay very little for always get—rather less than what they pay for. I am not finding fault with our educational system, but the results obtained are due to the personal devotion and self-sacrifice of those who take up the country's responsibilities in teaching those children. They need better support to get better results, and this will come from public opinion created by those who, like the members of this Association, set to work to build the foundations of the State that is to be, on the characters and minds of their children.

These are the only things that can build up the State and bring about justice between individuals, groups and nations. These are the things that our democracy stands for. This is what we meant when only a few minutes ago all of you applauded to the echo, the glorious singing of "Canada my Home". This is what you meant when you sang "We stand on guard for thee." What is the Canada you stand on guard for? It is not so many acres or so many bushels to the acre, or the conservative or liberal party or government. In the last analysis it is just the crop of little children, the men and women of the future, who are growing up all over the land. Or again when Mr. Saucier sang about the glories of "Canada our Home", we knew it was true. Nobody is ever going to teach the Canadian anything about the glory of his country, he knows all about it. But in our more sober moments we are very ready to admit that this home of ours is not an equally glorious or an equally comfortable home for every one of our citizens. We have the evidence of neglect on all hands. Our civilization has grown fast and grown sometimes careless. And these are the things that can only be remedied by a foundation of real democracy, that is to say the co-operation of men and women of goodwill, and the education of children into goodwill. But is goodwill enough? Far from it. You know what they say: Hell is paved with, those

who know a good deal about the other world. They say Hell is paved with good intentions, and I suppose there is not one of us who would like to be thus summed up. "Oh he means well". Good-will will not do, unless it has trained intelligence, knowledge to inform it, and political to put it into practice. This is that great alliance for which this Association stands.

It is said of an ancient civilization that the State would never do well until either the kings were philosophers or the philosophers were kings. Now there is not much chance either of those happening. Kings are not in the way of becoming philosophers, nor philosophers in the way of becoming kings. But the task which democracy has set before itself, however little it has as yet realised it, is a task far beyond that of either turning philosophers into kings or kings into philosophers. It is to make every man, who has the goodwill, who has the capacity both a philosopher and a king. That is, put him in possession of the knowledge by which the institutions of the State can be built up for the welfare of every individual, and put him in a position politically to be able to carry this will into practice. Your chairman has said that one of the objects of this Association is to develop leaders. Why should those who constitute the great majority of the state remain voiceless. It is leadership you need to develop and leadership on the lines he has laid down. Once more, while victory on the fields of Flanders must and will be won, there lies ahead a much longer and more difficult campaign, a campaign that will never be finished, in which the victories that are to be won, the victories of democracy, are those spoken of by one of the most glorious of all the poets of democracy, Milton, when he said "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war."

The CHAIRMAN:—It now becomes my pleasant duty to ask our distinguished veteran statesman, the Grand Old Man of Canada to address you. Sir Wilfrid Laurier needs no introduction to a Canadian Audience.

Sir WILFRID LAURIER:—Ladies and gentlemen.. My first words ought

to be and will certainly be to thank my good friend, the Mayor of Montreal for the kind words in which he was pleased to introduce me to you. And in so doing Mr. Chairman will you allow me to use the language which he made use of and which is his native language and mine (Sir Wilfrid then spoke in French thanking Mayor Martin for his welcoming words and adding that he owed Montreal a grudge in that when the citizens elected a mayor they caused the Liberal party at Ottawa to lose a member. True they had Mr. Deslauriers, who was an excellent member, but while he liked to gain new friends, he did not like to lose old ones.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier (continuing in English) said: You, Mr. Chairman were kind enough to invite me to attend this meeting of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada and proud and grateful for the privilege, here I am to do my share of the work which you have undertaken, humble though my share must be. Before I accepted your invitation I had to make myself familiar with the programme of your organization. I find it very much in line with my liberal inclinations and if there be some of its propositions which sounded to me more radical than I have been accustomed to, I will not even mention them, for those exceptions were not a circumstance to the splendor of the purpose which you have set out before you and which you have just explained to this audience.

The aim of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association is to promote, to extend, to spread and to diffuse those principles and ideals of democracy upon which we hope human society henceforth shall ever rest. Your method is simply the method of education. It is your intention to discuss and to invite discussion, to lay before public opinion your aims and purposes, to provoke criticism and rejoinder upon criticism so as to obtain the best results applicable to our life in this country.

Your ranks you have opened to all classes and all individuals, binding nobody to any formula, to any theory or creed, taking it for granted that any person joining it, if he is not already a believer in democracy shall soon be a believer. It may not be amiss even

after the speech of Professor Dale, if we ask, what is democracy? Perhaps to some, the question may seem of no consequence, of no purpose or use. To some it may seem preposterous to discuss the meaning of the word when at this time the armies of the Allies are fighting for what we call democracy. Yet, even so, it may not be amiss to discuss it, because in everything human there may always be a difference of opinion as to the conception and extent of the term. Abraham Lincoln has given, in my judgement, as good and solid and clear a definition of democracy as ever was formulated and which I commend to my friend, Professor Dale, though he is quite familiar with it. Still I recommend it to his meditation. Abraham Lincoln speaking on the battlefield of Gettysburg and speaking of the nation which was brought into the world by the fathers of the American Revolution, called it a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Democracy! We may discourse on it, try to explain it, but we have always to come back to these concise terms to have its true meaning. Again we may ask: what is meant by this expression: the people. What is the extent of the term which was used by Lincoln when he spoke of a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Are we to apply the term in a restricted sense or in a broadened sense? Are we to count as the people only those working classes for whom we are meeting tonight and who claim today to have a greater share in the affairs of the world and in the gifts of the Creator? No, because these working men themselves are willing to admit the thought which was in the mind of Lincoln. By the people is meant the whole community, all classes, all individuals, the workers on the farm, the workers in the shop, the workers in the office, all classes of individuals and between them no superiors and no inferiors, all equal before the law, with privileges and preferences to none and no disqualifying distinctions, if there is to be a distinction at all. It is to be only the distinction of merit, the more distinguished being the most meritorious, and the more meritorious he who in his station, whether on the farm, in the shop, or in the offices, applies him-

self with the greatest fidelity to the discharge of the duties of that station to which he belongs. Democracy! This doctrine of equality not implied in the word democracy is a plant of very recent growth in the civilized world. It does not go beyond the French revolution and the American independence. They who first proclaimed it of the world were the French idealists of the 18th century, and the practical men who made the American revolution when in the Declaration of Independence very solemnly affirmed that all men were created equal, have an equal right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. And indeed we must recognize that this doctrine of equality was not accepted at once even by those who pretended to be friends of liberty. It was put upon very severe trial even on this continent and when Lincoln spoke on the battlefields of Gettysburg, at the very moment the Republic was in the throes of a great civil war to determine whether government of the people, by the people for the people could long endure. And God be thanked for it, the victory of democracy was complete. So complete was it that all traces of disunion in the American republic have disappeared completely. And to-day the whole American people, I do not speak of classes, because there are no classes among Americans, the whole American people is behind President Wilson in a struggle for democracy far more stupendous than was the struggle of the civil war. For the last four years the world has been engaged in a struggle such as there never was before and again the gage of battle is democracy. The problem is whether democracy will survive or whether it will perish, whether government of the people by the people, for the people shall continue to spread over the world or whether the world shall go down and down and down until it is trampled under the foot of an irresponsible and arrogant master.

This is the problem of our democracy today and which we must face. How are we now to act? We are sometimes asked how will the war end and when will it end? This is a perplexing problem, a useless question, a superfluous question, and a vain one, vain to ask it, vain to ponder over it or answer it

because all our guessings and all our calculations cannot affect the issue. Far wiser is it to remember the words of Abraham Lincoln in his second In-superal address. Where Lincoln again took office in the 3rd of March, 1865, the Civil War had lasted almost four years. At that time, undoubtedly it was plain to everybody that the Confederacy was in the throes of overwhelming defeat, and indeed within five weeks of the time Lincoln was speaking, the Confederacy had completely collapsed. And yet, mark the unpretentious language, "The progress of our armies upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured". Lincoln might have enjoyed triumph in anticipation yet you cannot but notice the very sober words that he made use of. Let us imitate that moderation. I commend these words to you, my fellow countrymen, in these times of stress, where we are engaged in a supreme battle, where we see, I think, the dawn of victory: I commend these words to you so that you may remain firm in the fight and be prepared to enjoy victory for the benefit of mankind at large. Still more would I commend to you the conclusion of his address. These are the words of Lincoln: "With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have fallen in the battle and his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations". I commend these words to my fellow countrymen. It seems to me that they are the guidance which we ought to accept to carry us on up to the end of the war in which we are engaged and unless I am greatly mistaken you, Mr. Chairman and those associated with you, have had those words in your minds because I find that in your programme you have set down the following resolution "We stand for the creation of an international tribunal, so constituted as to re-

present the weak as well as the powerful nations, for the settlement of disputes between nations and we urge the development of effective methods of enforcing the decisions of such a tribunal. We favor the formation of a union of nations of the world for the purpose of enforcing international equality and the maintenance of peace". With all my heart, I subscribe to these doctrines. With all my heart. And you too gentlemen subscribe to the idea that there should be a league of nations in order that war may forever disappear from the earth. It is a noble purpose and undoubtedly a league of nations in which there would be an agreement by which all disputes, all conflicts of opinions or interest, all differences between nations would be no longer settled by the brutal arbitrament of shot and powder, but by the tribunals established for the purpose. Such an institution would be paradise on earth. Indeed it is a noble thought and one which has engaged the minds of some of the best and greatest men in history. It was the thought of Henry IV of France when he was assassinated. His last purpose had been to have a last struggle with the House of Austria which was the Germany of those days, to crush it and then form a league of nations to keep the peace. Alas! the thought remained a dream! It may still remain a dream. We hope it is in process of realization, yet I am not so sure of that. I have great hopes that as soon as this war is finished, there will be a league of nations between the nations of the Entente, between France and England and Italy and the United States and it would be a powerful organization if not to abolish war altogether, at least to restrict it. But such a league, strong as it could be, could not banish war altogether so long as there is one of the great powers who will not be bound by the law of nations and will not respect the sanctity of treaties. And such a power is the ruling power of Germany! We want peace. I do want it certainly and you do. But remember the conditions under which this war was started. On the 2nd of August 1914 the armies of the Emperor of Germany invaded Belgium, with whom they had no quarrel. And on that same day the German Chancellor, speaking

at the Tribune in the Reichstag, in the name of his Imperial Master, admitted in so many words that in invading Belgium the armies of the Kaiser were violating the law of nations and were trampling under their foot the signature of the King of Prussia, Emperor of Germany on a treaty which guaranteed the security of Belgium. He admitted all that, but the excuse which he gave was that the interest of Germany demanded the violation of the law. Well, I ask you, what faith can you have upon a signature which could be placed upon a treaty by the Emperor of Germany when the Emperor of Germany says that he does not care for the sanctity of his own signature. The very same day, the chancellor of Germany had so spoken the German Minister of Foreign Affairs when the British Ambassador told him there was a treaty upon which the signature of the King of England was and that treaty would be respected by England, the German Minister for Foreign Affairs retorted that a treaty was "a mere scrap of paper." The rejoinder of the British Ambassador, and in so repeating his words, there is not a man who does not feel the pride of being a British subject—the British Ambassador said that if it was a scrap of paper for the Emperor of Germany, it was sacred for the King and people of England and that they could lose the life of England itself rather than dishonor that signature. If such a treaty as is suggested were negotiated and signed by the Emperor of Germany how long would that treaty last? By the doctrine adopted in the case of Belgium that treaty would last as long as the Emperor of Germany thought it was to his interest to maintain it, and he would cast it aside as soon as he thought it would act against his interests, since with him, it is nothing more than "a scrap of paper."

Has there been a change of heart in the feelings of the government of Germany? I speak of the government of Germany, I do not speak of the people of Germany. Let me assert here that for all the horrors that were perpetrated by the armies of Germany in France. I do not hold the people of Germany responsible, but he who is to be held responsible is the master who have

prevented these outrages and did not want them, nay, encouraged them in order to terrorize the populations. The German Chancellor of the present day, Von Hertling, within the last ten days, speaking of the violation of the territory of Belgium defended it in these words: "The situation is grave, but we have no cause to be faint hearted." Then again he admitted that in the invasion of Belgium, Germany had transgressed the written law, but excused it by saying: "As for individuals so for nations, there is another law and is the law of self defence", meaning that Germany invaded Belgium because it was pretended that the English and the French were going to invade Belgium in order to fight Germany. This is a fallacy which has been so often expressed and refuted that it is an insult to the intelligence of nations to hear it repeated. I hold here the opinion of an honored German who stated not later than two weeks ago in so many words, that the French army never had any intention of invading Belgium. It is even established that the French plans of mobilization did not provide for entering Belgium. The French plans did not provide for it and as to England it is well known that England did not want war. Indeed England was not prepared for war, and I repeat again as a British subject, I am proud of my allegiance to the King of England and it is to the glory of the people of England that this war found the unprepared! These words of the German Chancellor that Belgium was invaded to defend Germany itself may deceive the German people, they cannot deceive the Allies and in the face of this, the propositions of peace of the Emperor of Austria could not be accepted and were not accepted by the governments of the Allies. I am a pacifist, I have always been and I am too old a man to change my views on this or any other subject, but I am bound to say that the position taken by the Allied powers, especially by President Wilson are such that any man who cares for rights and justice must admit was the only answer that could be given to the propositions of peace of the Emperor of Austria. Those words of President Wilson have been rung throughout the length and

breadth of the British Empire and I hope that some day or other they will be also rung in every town and village of Germany itself. President Wilson's utterances have all been embodiments of the highest ideals of the soundest, common sense of inflexible firmness, and moderation in policy. To the glory of the American people it must be owned that every great occasion they produced the man for the occasion: George Washington for the War of Revolution, Abraham Lincoln for the Civil War, Woodrow Wilson for the world war. I speak with you, my fellow working men of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association as a working man, because I am a working man myself. I have worked all my life and I hope my days are not over yet for hard work. We must remember the words of Abraham Lincoln "with malice towards none, with a charity to all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right" let us go on to finish the work we are in. The end will come, it has not come yet, but in the meantime there is only one thing to do, it is to go ahead. Undoubtedly a league of nations such as you have contemplated in your resolution, even if it were confined to the nations of the Entente, France, Italy, England and the United States would be a great advance towards general peace. It would be a great encouragement and a great stimulus to the people of these nations. It would be a further incentive for the other nations themselves to adopt democracy and join that league in order that war may be banished forever from the face of the earth.

But sir, our views are not to be confined alone to that aspect of the case. There is another aspect and it is this. If it is our hope that in consequence of this war and the last conquest of this war, a new leaf is to be turned in the history of the relations which have always existed between nation and nation, can we not hope that the relations of all the living forces of the community everywhere, in this country in particular, shall also be an object of our thought and that a new leaf may be turned in these relations and that especially the working classes may come to take in the nation the place which by right belongs to them?

I notice in one of your resolutions the following words: you pledge yourselves to the necessity for the whole people to procure "such legislative enactments as will ensure the abolition of all special privileges and the most widely diffused equality of opportunity in all that concerns the lives of our citizens". Mark those words! Equality of opportunity! Sir, I claim that legislation has already done a great deal towards the aim which is there set out, but there is something more to do and what is more to be done is the asserting, the proclaiming on the housetops, in the streets, on the market place and everywhere the equality of men, the asserting, the proclaiming of the new faith, the new gospel of harmony, goodwill and confidence amongst men. That alone will ensure that equality of opportunity which you claim and which I hope will be the basis of rejuvenated society after the war. I have to say that up to the present time between the working classes and the rest of the community there has been more clashing than harmony. It should not be so. There should be complete trust and confidence. The relations between labor and capital especially have to be more friendly than they have been in the past. I think you can agree with me that the relations between capital and labor have not been as friendly as they ought to be. For this I do not blame labor as much as I would blame capital. All the reforms which are being made and which have brought labor to what it is today, have been wrung from unwilling capital. The increase in wages, the regulation of hours, the improvement of sanitary conditions, all these have been wrung by labor. On the other hand I am bound to say, I speak here as a free man to free men, and it is by expressing our opinions without any reticence at all that we come to the truth, in my opinion too often violence has been the method employed to obtain the reforms. You will perhaps tell me that violence was needed and that nothing but violence would have accomplished the result. I have only this to say: I do not turn my eyes upon the dark past, I turn my eyes towards the dawn which it seems to me I see already reddening the hills. Capital and labor

have to work hand in hand for this reason that capital and labor are indispensable one to the other. Capital without labor is worthless and labor without capital is helpless. Capital without labor is worthless I say: if a man is the owner of lands in the country and houses in the city, if his vaults are filled with bonds and stocks, all these possessions are of no use to him and will not return him a dollar of revenue unless fructified by labor unless his lands are tilled, his houses are tenanted and the shops covered by his bonds and stocks kept in full blast. On the other hand, the day of individual craft is a thing of the past. The village mill has long been closed, so of the shops of the tailor, of the shoemaker and of all the other crafts. The wants of civilized man are now supplied by collective labor and collective labor cannot exist without capital.

Therefore if we are working for democracy, democracy as was explained by Professor Dale, means harmony between man and man. But sir you will tell me and I will admit it, there may be clashes yet between labor and capital. Yes and how are they to be determined? You have said in your programme that your aim and object is that there should be a league of nations to settle all differences. Sir I would die a happy man if before I closed my eyes I could see once a league, a league between the nations of the Entente, France, the land of my ancestors, England, from whose history I have derived all my political convictions, Italy whose checkered history was the food of my youth and last but by no means least, the American republic, which ever was a beacon to democracy, whose fire always burned and whose flame always rose high up in the heavens. Indeed, there would be cause for still greater rejoicing if that example were followed, not only between nation and nation but between individual and individual. This is the golden ideal and this is the programme which for my part, speaking here at your invitation in my humble capacity, I hold up to the audience of my fellow countrymen. And when this has been done you will have prepared the way for those legislative enactments which you deem es-

sential for the other conquests which are to be made by the laboring classes.

The programme which you have laid down is too vast to be gone into in detail, yet there are one or two aspects of it which I cannot pass by in silence. I have already on some occasions spoken of those subjects I am glad here to have this opportunity to again express my views on the same. Sir I have said a moment ago that I am a laboring man myself. I know that the laboring classes ask for one thing and one thing alone—work and a fair wage. Nothing else; nothing more. There are always three things which the working man fears and they are that he may be struck in one of three ways and that is, want of employment, sickness and old age. One of the most pathetic scenes which I saw in my life was here in the city of Montreal when some few years ago I saw a crowd of able bodied men, strong muscled, ready to work, parading the streets for work and no work. It was no fault of theirs. Far from it. They were begging for the opportunity of using those muscles which God had given them, but there was no work. Nothing could be more heart rending, unless it was the spectacle of a poor man stretched on a bed of sickness with his wife and children beside him and he unable to supply them with their wants. Here we see the condition of things which should not exist in a civilized country, and it behooves us and you working men, it behooves the whole community to take a pledge that as soon as possible this condition of things shall be and will be remedied. In England they have tackled the problem by way of insurance against sickness and I believe also against unemployment, as to which I am not so sure, but as against sickness I am sure. There we have a precedent which can guide us in our efforts when we approach the question. And what of the old men? Sir, it was given to every one of us, I am sure, to meet an old man who has spent all his life toiling every hour of the day, who has come to the age when his muscles can no longer help him and yet society leaves him dependent upon public or private charity. No man has died of starvation in this country but how many men are there not who are dependent on charity after having led

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an honest and industrious life. Charity is a fine thing in him who gives, it is a painful and humiliating thing in him who receives. And is a man who has labored all his life and who is no longer able with his muscles to earn his living, is he to be dependent upon cold and degrading charity? Is that the way we are to treat them? In my humble opinion it is unworthy of a nation like Canada to have such a condition of things in this age of democracy. What are the remedies proposed? You propose the system of pensions for old age, others propose a system of insurance. Between the two my preference would be for the pensions but I would not like to come to a final conclusion on this. This is one of the problems which have to be investigated by you gentlelement of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association, to have them debated, laid before the public and thoroughly examined so that you may come to a proper conclusion.

Let me add only this now in answer to a remark you, Sir made. You said that the working classes ought to be represented in all legislative bodies. I agree with you altogether. The Parliament of Canada in which I sit, in which I have sat for many years, I speak of it alone, but this applies to all other legislative bodies, ought to be a perfect mirror of the people of Canada. It ought to represent all classes, working men, business men all the classes without exceptions, it ought to represent all opinions without exclusion either. It ought to represent all opinions, not even forgetting the conservative opinions, I want them all. I want them all

represented, conservatives, tories, nationalists, all the extremists I want them all represented in the Parliament of Canada and let the best cause win.

I have already observed that your Association is open to everybody; but the initiative has been taken by the railwaymen. The railwaymen enter a good deal — may I be pardoned if I recall a little incident personal to myself. I do not know if there is anybody now amongst the railwaymen who remembers Nat Crean, who was a conductor on the Grand Trunk. His beat was between Levis and Richmond. He was a conductor when I was a young struggling barrister and budding politician. I travelled on his train. I came to appreciate him very warmly for he was as true an Irishman as there ever was. He had the warm heart, the keen wit, the rich humor and the ready tongue of the Irishman. In 1897 I was then occupying a position which obliged me to go to London for Queen Victoria's jubilee and when I came back, I crossed by Ireland, of course being in Ireland, I remembered my friend Nat Crean and I thought I would please him if I brought him a blackthorn stick. I presented it to him and when he received it he was profuse in his thanks and he concluded with these words: "May heaven be your bed and may you be long kept out of it". I hope that the first wish of my friend Ned will come true, that some day I will have my bed in Heaven. His second wish has already come true. I am pretty long kept out of it. When my friend Crean thus expressed to me his gratitude he and I did not suspect that the

day would come, when I would see the world desolated as it is at the present time, but desolated as it is, if it were to be followed by that league of nations which you hope for then I would not regret that I had lived to be an old man. For this league of nations, you railwaymen can do a good deal. I was particularly struck by the letter which you read from Mr. Lee, one of your chief officers, writing from Washington saying that he is looking after the interests of your union. Your union is international. It belongs to Canada, it belongs to the United States and there are no men who can do more for unions than railwaymen who are constantly travelling between the countries because after all, more than ever, we realize that it is for the good of the country at large that we should have with neighbours the most friendly relations. There was a time, yes, not very far distant, when some men in this country said "No truck or trade with the Yankees". No truck or trade with the Yankees... the Lord forgive them! They did not know what they were saying and they will never repeat it again. Why sir, this league of nations, it is already, although not by treaty, in existence between Canada and the United States. We have a frontier extending between ocean and ocean and on this frontier there is not a fortress either on one side or the other. Every day hundreds and hundreds of railway trains are crossing and recrossing it, messengers of trade and commerce, messengers of peace and harmony, goodwill and friendship. During this one hundred years past, we never had a war between us, and we can show to the nations of the earth, our record as an example to follow. During this hundred years without war, we often had conflicts of interest which sometimes brought us perilously near war, but Heaven be thanked, Heaven be thanked forever for it, all those differences, all those clashings were settled. Yes and we settled them by peaceful means, by discussions, by conference by conciliations and compromise and when we could not agree amongst ourselves we brought in arbitrators to pronounce between us. I will not say, I cannot say, that the award of these arbitrators was always satisfactory to

both parties. No! On the contrary on many an occasion their award seemed to be unjust and wrong to one side, but on every occasion the award was accepted by both sides, loyally and honorably carried out. Sir, I will not say either that those arbitrators never made mistakes. It is human to err, but those errors, if errors they were, were ten times, a hundred times, a thousand times preferable to the odious error of arbitrament by shot and powder. And Sir, I ask you, is there a Canadian, is there an American today, who is not proud when now that the armies of both countries are fighting in Europe, is there one of those soldiers who is not proud to say, "I have come here to fight for democracy on the soil of Europe, but in the land from which we come, the continent of America, we have had no war between neighbour and neighbour for 100 years and more."

Well Sir, we have problems, problems in Canada of many kinds to settle, problems economical, problems racial, problems religious. Is it to be supposed that we cannot settle these problems amongst ourselves as we settled the problems that divided us from our neighbours? No! We can settle them. We will settle them. It has been the aim of all my life. I have had disappointments, but men there are to whom disappointments are simply spurs to further efforts when they are in the right. And these are my last words to you, my fellow countrymen. We are a nation divided in many ways, we must be united, we must all stand close together, with fervor, to bring on this dream so well expressed by Abraham Lincoln, "a just and lasting peace amongst ourselves and with all the nations".

Mr. Samuel Pugh, train conductor of the Grand Trunk Railway, moved the vote of thanks to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and remarked that seventeen years ago a little boy was brought into the world who was the last of seven children, and he had been named Wesley Wilfrid, two of the best names he could think of. It was a proud moment for him to be called on to move such a vote of thanks. A humble working boy, with very little education who had struggled out from England and had been in Can-

ada thirty-one years and he was a Canadian first and an Englishman next. Sir Wilfrid Laurier had left a mark on the history of this country — he stood in the front rank of the brilliant men of his day and his words would be read and re-read. He had spoken from his lifelong experience and from his heart and they would ponder his words well and they would inspire them for the work they had undertaken. He knew Nat Crean and he re-echoed his wish that Sir Wilfrid might long be kept from his bed.

The Chairman: Sir Wilfrid permit me to extend to you the thanks of the meeting and I take great pleasure in extending to you the first honorary membership of our Association if you will accept it.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier: I certainly will accept it, I would have accepted it under any circumstances with very great pleasure, but I accept now with still greater pleasure, because I heard you say, in the earlier part of this evening that women are to be admitted to membership.

The Chairman expressed thanks to Almy's Ltd, for the stage setting and the St. Denis Theatre and especially the manager, Mr. Dunlop for the manner in which he had helped them to handle the meeting, the Willis Piano Co. Ltd., and also to Mrs Hendrich at the organ. The chairman added that the full report of the meeting would be recorded through the columns of their magazine the Canadian Railroader.

Songs were sung by Mr. Saucier accompanied by Madame Saucier while Emile Taranto contributed violin solos all of which were much appreciated. The meeting concluded with the singing of the Marseillaise and the National Anthem.



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E. W. BEATTY

railway itself has eighty thousand employees and more mileage even than any of the great systems of the United States—no less than 18,600 miles of track being operated or controlled from Montreal. The C.P.R. Telegraphs comprise over 100,000 miles of wire with no less than 15,000 offices where messages may be received. The C.P.R. hotels, involving an investment of over \$25,000,000 and representing eighteen caravanserais from the small station hotel to the huge edifices at Quebec, Winnipeg, Calgary, Banff, Lake Louise, Vancouver, and Victoria—the Vancouver Hotel, for instance, having establishment of 650 rooms—involve great responsibility. Then there are the lands in Western Canada with the \$17,000,000 irrigation scheme west of Calgary and the extensive colonization programme of ready-made farms and the

like. The mining and smelting interests of the C.P.R. in British Columbia are also considerable, involving not only a large investment of capital but also relations with a labor element which has been somewhat difficult to manage. Then again there are the great Angus Shops at Montreal, with other large shops also at Winnipeg and Calgary, where so much of the rolling stock and equipment is built and repaired.

Subsidiary to the railway company itself are the Canadian Pacific Ocean Services, representing one of the largest passenger fleets of the world, amounting to almost 400,000 tons, and providing one of the most vital links between Europe and the Orient.

As a common carrier the railway serves all the large interests of Canada—agricultural, industrial and commercial—and is naturally in close touch with the big financial institutions, several of which are represented on the Board of Directors. The opinion of the President on financial questions carries enormous weight in England, which naturally takes most interests in such American financial movements as affect the component parts of the British Empire.

Owing to its economic position the Canadian Pacific is naturally of great interest to the political leaders at Ottawa, and no economic legislation is likely to be brought forward by any Government without obtaining at least an expression of opinion from the Canadian Pacific President. In this respect it is known that the leaders at Ottawa

have the greatest respect for the capable judgment of Mr. E. W. Beatty, who, in spite of his comparative youth, has proved in many cases his mature and sound economic judgment.

No finer description could be given to the new President of the C.P.R. than the tribute paid by Lord Shaughnessy, in the official statement regarding his successor:—"One who has shown notable administrative ability, and who enjoys to a marked degree the confidence not only of the political and business leaders of Canada, but also of the employees of the Canadian Pacific Railway itself."

Among the many public expressions that of the Toronto "Globe" is interesting, and follows:—"Railway history has many chapters of personal romance, but it has few parallels to the career of Mr. E. W. Beatty, who at the age of forty-one, becomes the head of the greatest transportation system in the world. Even in this classic continent of opportunity his advance has been sensational. Mr. Beatty is the first Canadian-born president of the C.P.R., a sign that Canada has no longer any need of looking beyond her borders for railway talent of the highest class."

Mr. Beatty was born in Thorold, Ontario, forty-one years ago, of Canadian parents—his father being Henry Beatty, a prominent steamship owner. He graduated from Toronto University; studied law, and entered the C.P.R. service in 1901, in the legal department. He was appointed vice-president in 1914, and director in 1916.

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OPEN EVENINGS

The Restoration of Trade Union Customs After the War

Introduction

The Government has guaranteed the restoration of Trade Union rights after the war, and this guarantee has been the material factor in inducing Trade Unions to suspend their rules for the period of the war. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that the Trade Unions should have the fullest possible knowledge of the scope and substance of the Government guarantees. In the following memorandum the attempt is made to set out all the definite guarantees that have been given, together with some of the most important pronouncements of leading Ministers with regard to them.

Through the guarantees are most clearly set out in the Second Schedule to the Munitions of War Act, 1915, it has been thought well to begin with a short historical introduction, showing how the need for the guarantees first arose and received recognition.

1.—Before the Munitions Act

The shortage of labor began to be felt in the engineering industry as early as November, 1914. By that time, unemployment among skilled engineers had practically disappeared, and the enlistment of skilled men had aggravated a shortage which in any case would have become serious. On November 26th a Composite Conference was held between the A.S.E., the Toolmakers, and the Engineering Employers' Federation to discuss the introduction of female labour on certain machines at Messrs. Vickers, Crayford. An agreement was finally secured by which women in this firm were allowed on purely automatic machines only, the settlement to be—

“observed until the termination of the war, when the whole question shall be discussed, if desired, without the foregoing settlement being urged to the prejudice of either party.”

This purely local settlement was no sooner secured than the Engineering Employers' Federation approached the Trade Unions and asked them to re-

frain from pressing to an issue during the war any question of the manning of machines or hand operations, demarcation, employment of non-unionists or women, and working of unlimited overtime. The only guarantee suggested by the employers was in the following terms:—

“The following arrangements shall have effect during the war, and shall in no way prejudice any of the parties on any of the points covered, and the parties shall at the termination of the war, as the Federation and the Unions now undertake, revert to the conditions which existed in the respective shops on the outbreak of hostilities.”

These proposals were rejected by the Trade Unions, and it was after their rejection that the Government first formally intervened. Already, on January 2nd, the War Office and the Admiralty had written to the Trade Unions asking them to accelerate production, and the Board of Trade had urged the importance of a settlement. On February 4th the Government appointed the Committee on Production, which, during the following months, issued a series of reports on which subsequent Government action was largely based. In addition, on February 8th, Mr. Tennant made in the House of Commons his much criticised speech calling for the relaxation of Trade Union rules.

The most important Memoranda of the Committee on Production were issued on February 20th. They dealt respectively with the Production of Shells and Fuses, with the Avoidance of Disputes, and with the following suggested form of guarantee to workpeople:—

“In order to safeguard the position of the Trade Unions and of the workpeople concerned we think that each contracting firm should give an undertaking, to be held on behalf of the Unions, in the following terms:—

“To His Majesty's Government.

“We hereby undertake that any departure during the war from the practice ruling in our workshops and shipyards prior to the war shall only be for the period of the war.

“No change in practice made during the

war shall be allowed to prejudice the position of the workpeople in our employment or of their Trade Unions in regard to the resumption and maintenance after the war of any rules or customs existing prior to the war.

"In any readjustment of staff which may have to be effected after the war, priority of employment will be given to workmen in our employment at the beginning of the war who are serving with the colours or who are now in our employment.

"Name of firm.....
"Date....."

This suggested guarantee forms the basis of the safeguarding clauses of the Treasury Agreement.

The first fruits of the activity of the Committee on Production was the Shells and Fuses Agreement, concluded on March 5th at a Conference between the Engineering Employers' Federation and the Trade Unions concerned. Only the clauses in this agreement which deal with restoration after the war are here quoted:—

"(7) Operations on which skilled men are at present employed, but which, by reason of their character can be performed by semi-skilled or female labour, may be done by such labour during the war period.

"Where semi-skilled or female labour is employed in place of skilled labour the rates paid shall be the usual rates of the district obtaining for the operations performed.

"(7) The Federation undertakes that the fact of the restrictions being temporarily removed shall not be used to the ultimate prejudice of the workpeople or their Trade Unions.

"(8) Any federated employer shall at the conclusion of the war, unless the Government notify that the emergency continues, reinstate the working conditions of his factory on the pre-war basis, and as far as possible afford re-employment to his men who are at present serving with His Majesty's Forces.

"(9) These proposals shall not warrant any employer making such arrangements in the shops as will effect a permanent restriction of employment of any trade in favour of semi-skilled men or female labour.

"(10) The employers agree that they will not, after the war, take advantage of this agreement to decrease wages, premium bonus times, or piecework prices (unless warranted by alteration in the means or method of manufacture) or break down established conditions, and will adopt such proposals only for the object of increasing output in the present extraordinary circumstances.

"(13) In the event of semi-skilled or female labour being employed as per the foregoing clauses they shall first be af-

fected by any necessary discharges either before or after the war period.

"(14) The liberty of any employer to take advantage of these proposals shall be subject to acquiescence in all the provisions thereof and to intimation of his acquiescence to the local representatives of the Unions through his local association."

The last of the series of special Memoranda by the Committee on Production was published on March 4th, Acting upon these Memoranda, the Government summoned the first Treasury Conference for March 17th. The Conference, which was addressed by Mr. Lloyd George, appointed a special sub-committee, which afterwards became the National Labour Advisory Committee. This Committee drew up proposals, largely based on the reports of the Committee on Production, and these reports, after amendment, were endorsed by the full Conference with the exception of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, whose delegates refused to accept compulsory arbitration, and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, who demanded further safeguards. As we shall see, the second of these bodies subsequently accepted the agreement, these further safeguards having been promised.

It is necessary to set out in full the clauses of the Treasury Agreement dealing with the restoration of Trade Union conditions after the war, as these form the first substantial guarantee afforded to Labour.

(4) Provided that the conditions set out in paragraph (5) are accepted by the Government as applicable to all contracts for the execution of war munitions and equipments the workmen's representatives at the Conference are of opinion that during the war period the relaxation of the present trade practices is imperative, and that each Union be recommended to take into favourable consideration such changes in working conditions or trade customs as may be necessary with a view to accelerating the output of war munitions or equipments.

(5) The recommendations contained in paragraph (4) are conditional on Government requiring all contractors and sub-contractors engaged on munitions and equipments of war or other work required for the satisfactory completion of the war to give an undertaking to the following effect:—

(i.) Any departure during the war from the practice ruling in our workshops, shipyards, and other industries prior to the war shall only be for the period of the war.

(ii.) No change in practice made during the war shall be allowed to prejudice the position of the workpeople in our employment, or of their Trade Unions in regard to the resumption and maintenance after the war of any rules or customs existing prior to the war.

(iii.) In any readjustment of staff which may have to be effected after the war priority of employment will be given to workmen in our employment at the beginning of the war who are serving with the colours or who are now in our employment.

(iv.) Where the custom of a shop is changed during the war by the introduction of semi-skilled men to perform work hitherto performed by a class of workmen of higher skill, the rates paid shall be the usual rates of the district for that class of work.

(v.) The relaxation of existing demarcation restrictions or admission of semi-skilled or female labour shall not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job. In cases where men who ordinarily do the work are adversely affected thereby, the necessary readjustments shall be made so that they can maintain their previous earnings.

(vi.) A record of the nature of the departure from the conditions prevailing before the date of this undertaking shall be kept and shall be open for inspection by the authorized representative of the Government.

(vii.) Due notice shall be given to the workmen concerned wherever practicable of any changes of working conditions which it is desired to introduce as the result of this arrangement, and opportunity of local consultation with men or their representatives shall be given if desired.

(viii.) All differences with our workmen engaged on Government work arising out of changes so introduced or with regard to wages or conditions of employment arising out of the war shall be settled without stoppage of work in accordance with the procedure laid down in paragraph (2).

(ix.) It is clearly understood that except as expressly provided in the fourth paragraph of clause 5 nothing in this undertaking is to prejudice the position of employers or employees after the war.

(Signed) LLOYD GEORGE.
WALTER RUNCIMAN.
ARTHUR HENDERSON
(Chairman of Workmen's
Representatives).

WM. MOSSES

March 19th, 1915. (Secretary of Workmen's
Representatives).

For convenience, the material difference between the clauses of this undertaking and those of Schedule II. of the

Munitions Act are set out here, although Schedule II. itself is quoted on a later page.

TREASURY AGREEMENT

Clause (iii.) "or who are now in our employment."

Clause (vi.) "conditions prevailing before the date of this undertaking."

Clause (vii.) "desired to introduce as a result of this arrangement."

Clause (viii.) "in accordance with the procedure laid down in paragraph (2)."

SCHEDULE II.

"or who were in the owners' employment when the establishment became a controlled establishment."

"conditions prevailing when the establishment became a controlled establishment."

"desired to introduce as the result of the establishment becoming a controlled establishment."

"in accordance with this Act without stoppage of work."

There are other small verbal changes; but these alone affect the meaning of the document. The net effect of the changes is this:—

(1) Under the Munitions Act a statutory guarantee is given applying only to controlled establishments and dating only from the day on which any particular establishment becomes controlled.

(2) Under the Treasury Agreement, this guarantee is dated back to March 19th, 1915, in the case of all establishments which availed themselves of the Treasury Agreement, whether they subsequently became controlled or not. But this guarantee has no statutory force, and rests only on an understanding given to the Government.

It will be seen that the acceptance of the Treasury Agreement by the Unions was conditional upon the employer giving a guarantee to the Government that Trade Union rules and customs should be restored after the war. It would be desirable to discover from the Government the number of guarantees from individual firms under the Treasury Agreement which they secured on behalf of the Unions between the date of the agreement and the passage of the Act.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, speaking during the Committee stage of the Munitions Bill on July 1st, 1915, used these words:—

"We have to keep in mind that this schedule has been operating since the 19th of March, and has been made a condition of Government contracts that have been given out since that date."

The passage of the Munitions Act, it will be understood, did not remove the necessity for these guarantees, which serve to pre-date the provisions of Schedule II. by a number of months. Moreover, the Treasury Agreement applied to certain trades and industries which did not come under the provisions of Schedule II. of the Munitions Act, and in their cases the Treasury Agreement still holds good as a guarantee of restoration. In order that the importance of this point may be realized a list of the Unions which accepted the agreement, divided into large groups, is given. It will be seen that textile workers, railwaymen, transport workers, boot and shoe operatives, and others are included.

(A.) GENERAL.

The Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress.
The General Federation of Trade Unions.

(B.) ENGINEERING.

Amalgamated Society of Engineers.
Steam Engine Makers.
United Machine Workers.
Amalgamated Toolmakers.
United Patternmakers.
Friendly Society of Ironfounders.
Associated Ironmoulders of Scotland.
Associated Blacksmiths and Ironworkers.
Electrical Trades Union.
Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades.

(C.) SHIPBUILDING.

United Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders.
Shipconstructors' and Shipwrights' Association.
Sheet Iron Workers and Light Platers.
Shipbuilding Trades Agreement Committee.

(D.) IRON AND STEEL TRADES.

British Steel Smelters.
Associated Iron and Steel Workers.

(E.) OTHER METAL TRADES.

National Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers.
General Union of Braziers and Sheet Metal Workers.
Operative Plumbers.

(F.) WOODWORKERS.

Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.
General Union of Carpenters and Joiners.
House and Ship Painters and Decorators.
Scottish Painters.
Furnishing Trades Association.
Woodecutting Machinists.
Amalgamated Cabinet Makers.

(G.) LABOURERS.

National Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers.
Workers' Union.
National Amalgamated Union of Labour.

(H.) TRANSPORT.

National Union of Railwaymen.
National Transport Workers' Federation.

(I.) WOOLLEN.

General Union of Textile Workers.

(J.) BOOT AND SHOE.

National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives.

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, as we have seen, was not satisfied with the safeguards provided by the Treasury Agreement. Accordingly, on March 25th, 1915, a Special Conference was held between the A.S.E. and the Government, at which Mr. Lloyd George gave, on behalf of the Government, a further undertaking in the following terms:—

ACCELERATION OF OUTPUT ON GOVERNMENT WORK

At a meeting held at the Treasury on March 25th, 1915, between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the President of the Board of Trade and the Executive Council and Organizing District Delegates of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, the Chancellor explained the circumstances in which it had become essential for the successful prosecution of the war to conclude an agreement with the Trade Unions for the acceleration of output on Government work. After discussion, the representatives

of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers resolved that in the light of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's statement and explanations the agreement be accepted by the Union, and expressed a desire that the following statements by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in answer to questions put to him as to the meaning of various clauses in the memorandum agreed upon at a conference with workmen's representatives on March 17th-19th be put on record:—

1. That it is the intention of the Government to conclude arrangements with all important firms engaged wholly or mainly upon engineering and shipbuilding work for war purposes, under which their profits will be limited, with a view to securing that benefit resulting from the relaxation of trade restrictions or practices shall accrue to the State.

2. That the relaxation of trade practices contemplated in the agreement relates solely to work done for war purposes during the war period.

3. That in the case of the introduction of new inventions which were not in existence in the pre-war period, the class of workman to be employed on this work after the war should be determined according to the practice prevailing before the war in the case of the class of work most nearly analogous.

4. That on demand by the workmen the Government Department concerned will be prepared to certify whether the work in question is needed for war purposes.

5. That the Government will undertake to use its influence to secure the restoration of previous conditions in every case after the war.

D. LLOYD GEORGE.
WALTER RUNCIMAN.
J. T. BROWNLIE, Chairman.
W. HAROLD HUTCHINSON,
Executive Council.
GEORGE RYDER,
Organizing District Delegate.
ROBERT YOUNG,
General Secretary.

II.—The Munitions of War Act, 1915

No further pledges were given until the passage of the Munitions of War Act in July, 1915. The effect of this Act was to create a special class of controlled establishments in which profits were limited, and "any rule, practice, or custom not having the force of law which tends to restrict production or employment" was suspended for the period of the war. The provisions for suspension of Trade Union customs and the guarantees of restoration under the Act are alike limited to controlled establishments.

The passage in the Act itself which makes provision for restoration is as follows:—

4. (4) The owner of the establishment shall be deemed to have entered into an undertaking to carry out the provisions set out in the second Schedule to this Act, and any owner or contractor or sub-contractor who breaks or attempts to break such an undertaking shall be guilty of an offence under this Act.

20. (2) This Act shall have effect only so long as the office of Minister of Munitions and the Ministry of Munitions exist:—

Provided that (Part I. of)* this Act shall continue to apply for a period of twelve months after the conclusion of the present war to any difference arising in relation to the performance by the owner of any establishment of his undertaking to carry out the provisions set out in the second Schedule to this Act, notwithstanding that the office of Minister of Munitions and the Ministry of Munitions have ceased to exist.

14. (1) Any person guilty of an offence under this Act—

(a) shall, if the offence is a contravention of or failure to comply with an award, be liable to a fine not exceeding £5 for each day or part of a day during which the contravention or failure to comply continues, and, if the person guilty of the offence is an employer, for each man in respect of whom the contravention or failure takes place.

(2) A fine for any offence, under this Act, shall be recoverable only before the munitions tribunal established for the purpose.

SCHEDULE II.

1. Any departure during the war from the practice ruling in the workshops, shipyards, and other industries prior to the war, shall only be for the period of the war.

2. No change in practice made during the war shall be allowed to prejudice the position of the workmen in the owners' employment, or of their Trade Unions in regard to the resumption and maintenance after the war of any rules or customs existing prior to the war.

3. In any readjustment of staff which may have to be effected after the war priority of employment will be given to workmen in the owners' employment at the beginning of the war who have been serving with the colours or who were in the owners' employment when the establishment became a controlled establishment.

4. Where the custom of a shop is changed during the war by the introduction of semi-skilled men to perform work hitherto performed by a class of workmen of higher skill, the time and piece rates paid shall be the usual rates of the district for that class of work.

5. The relaxation of existing demarcation restrictions or admission of semi-

*The words in parenthesis were struck out in the Amending Act of 1916.

skilled or female labour shall not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job. In cases where men who ordinarily do the work are adversely affected thereby, the necessary readjustments shall be made so that they can maintain their previous earnings.

6. A record of the nature of the departure from the conditions prevailing when the establishment became a controlled establishment shall be kept, and shall be open for inspection by the authorized representative of the Government.

7. Due notice shall be given to the workmen concerned wherever practicable of any changes of working conditions which it is desired to introduce as the result of the establishment becoming a controlled establishment, and opportunity for local consultation with workmen or their representatives shall be given if desired.

8. All differences with workmen engaged on Government work arising out of changes so introduced or with regard to wages or conditions of employment arising out of the war shall be settled in accordance with this Act without stoppage of work.

9. Nothing in this Schedule (except as provided by the third paragraph thereof) shall prejudice the position of employers or persons employed after the war.

In September the Minister of Munitions set up the Central Labour Supply Committee in order to give greater effect to the suspension of Trade Union rules. This Committee, on which employers and employer were represented, together with the Ministry of Munitions, drew up the Dilution of Labour Scheme, and the Circulars L. 2 and L. 3, which lay down rates of wages for women on men's work and for unskilled and semi-skilled men on skilled men's work. These Circulars contain no new guarantees; but, in issuing them, the Ministry of Munitions expressly drew attention to the fact that they were "strictly confined to the war period and subject to the observance of Schedule II. of the Munitions of War Act."

III.—The Munitions of War (Amendment) Act, 1916

Most of the new guarantees given to Labour in connection with the amendment of the Munitions Act at the close of 1915 dealt rather with the rates of wages to be paid during the war and with the actual administration of the Act than with the question of restoration. Attempts were made to introduce a new clause greatly extending the scope of the records of departures from Trade Union custom which must be

kept under Schedule II. This, however, was opposed by the Government, and negatived without a division. The only clause containing an important new guarantee had to do with the question of non-union labour*:

15. Where non-union labour is introduced during the war into any class of work in a controlled establishment in which it was the practice prior to the war to employ union labour exclusively, the owner of the establishment shall be deemed to have undertaken that such introduction shall be only for the period of the war and if he breaks or attempts to break such an undertaking he shall be guilty of an offence under the principal Act and liable to a fine not exceeding £50; but, subject as aforesaid, such introduction shall not be deemed to be a change of working conditions.

IV.—Summary of the Guarantees

1. A general promise has been given, and many times repeated, that all changes made during the war are only for the period of the war, and that restoration will take place in all cases when the war is over.
2. Statutory form has been given to this promise in the case of establishments which are controlled under the Munitions of War Acts. Only in such establishments are Trade Union rules suspended by law, and only in such establishments is there a **legal** guarantee of restoration.
3. In other cases, i.e., in regard to establishments which are not controlled and in industries outside the scope of Part II. of the Munitions Act, the guarantees of restoration depend on the Treasury Agreement and on undertakings entered into by firms and by the Government. These guarantees are obligations of honour; but are not **legally** enforceable.
4. Priority of employment after the war is guaranteed by law in the case of controlled establishments to men serving with the colours, and to men who were employed in any establishment when it became controlled.

*Two purely drafting amendments designed to remedy technical flaws in the principal Act have been ignored, and, in describing the principal Act, it has been assumed that these amendments have taken effect.

5. A similar guarantee, resting upon the Treasury Agreement and not legally enforceable, exists in the case of establishments which are not controlled. This guarantee also holds good as from March 19th, 1915, in the case of establishments which subsequently became controlled (i.e., a man who was employed between March and July in an establishment which became controlled under the Munitions Act is guaranteed priority of employment under the Treasury Agreement).
6. The Government has given a promise, which has not the force of law, that where new inventions are introduced, the class of workmen to operate them after the war shall be determined according to the practice prevailing before the war in the nearest analogous class of work in a controlled establishment, in which it was the practice prior to the war to employ union labour exclusively, the introduction of such labour shall be only for the war period.

V.—Note on Government Establishments

The question has arisen whether the Government itself, in its capacity as employer is bound by the above pledges. The following answer, given by the Prime Minister on August 21st, 1916, in answer to a question by Mr. Duncan, explains the position:—

“The Crown, not expressly named in the Munitions of War Act, 1915, is not as a matter of law bound by its provisions. There is a special machinery for settling such questions in the dockyards to which it seems desirable to resort in the first instance. There are other cases in which it is practically impossible to arbitrate in regard to isolated classes without reference to the interest of others. It is quite recognized that, subject to exceptional cases, the spirit of this provision of the Act should be observed by Government Departments.”

The question and answer in this case refer only to “the provisions for the avoidance of disputes enforced upon private employers”; but it is to be presumed that the answer applies in principle to the restoration of Trade Union conditions after the war.

Appendix

In the following Appendix there have been gathered together for reference the most important statements made by responsible members of the Government on the question of Trade Union rules. Extracts from the early speeches of Mr. Tennant and Mr. Harold Baker, on behalf of the War Office, in February, 1915, though they contain no reference to guarantees, have been given because they are the earliest Government pronouncements on the matter of Trade Union rules. Apart from these two extracts, only passages containing explicit promises of restoration after the war are included:—

Mr. Tennant's Speech, House of Commons,
February 8th, 1915.

“I would appeal to the hon. gentlemen below the gangway (the Labour Party) to help us to organize the forces of labour, to help us so that where one man goes to join the colours his place may be taken by a man who is not of military age, or of military physique, or by a woman. I believe that might be done. ‘I would ask them to assist the Government also in granting only for the period of the war some form of relaxation of their rules and regulations.

“In the works of many firms, not so much armament firms as clothing firms, Factory Act rules and regulations have been largely abrogated already, and I would seriously ask the Labour Party whether they could not prevail upon the Trade Unionists in this country to adopt a measure of a purely temporary kind for the relaxation of some of the more stringent regulations.”

Mr. Harold Baker's Speech, House of Commons
February 9th, 1915.

“There are certain steps which may be considered desirable. The Trade Unions have a perfectly proper desire to safeguard their interests against the time when peace returns. If we leave these things to be settled by fair and proper discussion outside we shall be more likely to achieve the result desired.”

Lord Kitchener's Speech, House of Lords,
March 15th, 1915.

“It has been brought to my notice on more than one occasion that the restrictions of Trade Unions have undoubtedly added to our difficulties, not so much in obtaining sufficient labour, as in making the best use of that labour. I am confident, however, that the seriousness of the position as regards our supplies has only to be mentioned and all concerned will agree to waive for the period of the war any of those restrictions which prevent in the very slightest degree our utilizing all the labour available to the fullest extent that is possible.”

Mr. Lloyd George's Speech, Treasury Conference.

March 17th, 1915.

"The second proposition is the suspension where necessary during the war of restrictions of output. Here, again, I want to make it perfectly clear that I am only discussing this suspension during the war. The increase in output is so essential to us, where we have to turn out munitions of war not merely for ourselves but to help our Allies, that I do hope you will help us for the moment by suspending the operation of any rules or regulations which tend to diminish the output. I know it is a very difficult question for you to decide upon, but it is very important for the State at the present juncture."

Mr. Asquith's Speech at Newcastle,

March 20th, 1915.

"What are those sacrifices? They may, I think, be summarized under three heads — limitation of profits, the temporary suspension of restrictive rules and customs, and the provision of reasonable compensation in cases of proved injury or loss. The first, you observe, falls upon the employer, and the second upon the men—especially upon those men who are members of Trade Unions—and the third upon the State. Let me deal with each of them in a single sentence. As to profits, I believe we shall all agree that the firms and companies who are supplying the State with munitions of war should not be entitled thereby to make undue profits out of them. That we know is the opinion, and is going to be the practice of some of the greatest and most representative of those bodies. Under the second head, I believe there is an equally general agreement, and I hope and trust that that agreement will be translated into practice, and that restrictive regulations, whether as regards output or as regards demarcation of different classes of labour—regulations on long experience, which we may without prejudice agree to be quite appropriate to normal conditions—may be suspended while war lasts, to be resumed thereafter. I know well that an agreement to that effect has been come to between the Federation of Engineering Employers and the great Trade Union, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers which is the custodian and the experienced and tried trustee of the interests of the men, and I would venture to express a strong appeal that the agreement may be carried out not only as between the parties to it, but with the general assent of all men who in this critical stage of our fortunes are engaged in the fabrications of munitions of war. They will suffer for nothing in the long run.

"I am not one of those, if there be such, who think that in these matters the Trade Unions have been pursuing chimeras or indulging in a passion for domineering and restrictive regulation. I believe, on the contrary, that the great bulk, I won't say all—many of them are much open to argument—but the great bulk of the rules and customs which they have adopted as the fruit of long experience are justified by that experience, and have tended not to diminish but to increase the output of our industries. But we

are living in exceptional times. We have to meet a special emergency, and you may be sure they will not be prejudicing the interests of their Unions or the cause which the Union represents if they consent, so long as those critical conditions prevail, to a temporary waiving and suspension of those customs and rules."

Mr. Lloyd George, Treasury Conference,

March 22nd, 1915.

"As to that . . . we realized that when Labour was making concessions to us by relaxing certain rules during the period of the war Labour was quite right in insisting on the strictest safeguards against those concessions being abused. I think you may say that we have practically accepted the safeguards suggested by the delegates; we were so entirely in agreement with them as to the desirability of protecting the workmen's interests in the matter."

Mr. Lloyd George's Speech. House of Commons, introducing the Munitions Bill,

June 23rd, 1915.

"The next thing is the suspension during the war, on the honour and pledge of the nation that things would be restored exactly to the position they were in before the suspension, of all these restrictions and practices that interfere with the increase of the output of war materials."

The Home Secretary (Sir John Simon), speaking of the Second Reading of the Munitions Bill,

June 28th, 1915.

"In the first place, you must make it plain, and you must not only make it plain, but as far as may be you must provide in your Statute that this concession that workpeople make in the crisis of the war for the country's sake is a temporary concession, which does not in the least prejudice their established rights so hardly won after, in many cases, a long struggle in times past. This is a provision for the war, and for the war only, and it is an essential condition of that which we are asking, that when the war is over the honour of the House of Commons is pledged, the promise of the Government is given, and all who really try to carry this Bill undertake that organized workpeople are not to suffer because of the temporary abandonment of Trade Union restrictions."

Mr. Lloyd George's Statement in the House of Commons on Progress of Munitions Department,

July 28th, 1915.

"I hope they will take not merely a promise but a solemn undertaking put in an Act of Parliament by which not merely the Government, but the whole of the House of Commons and the House of Lords undertook that at the end of the war the fact of their abandoning those practices now will not prevent them restoring the practices at the end of the war. It is so vital that this should be done during the war that even an undertaking of that kind must be honoured."

Mr. Lloyd George's Speech to the Trades Union Congress, September 9th, 1915.

"The next undertaking we gave was that we would give a guarantee that at the end of the war the pre-war conditions would be restored. How have we done that? We have done it, not merely by solemn declaration on the part of the Government, but we have embodied them in an Act of Parliament. We have a statutory guarantee carried unanimously by Parliament, by men of all parties—employers, workmen, Liberal, Unionist, conscriptionist, anti-conscriptionist, pro-German, and anti-German—all sorts and conditions of men. They are all in it, and they are all committed to that guarantee."

Mr. Asquith's Reply to the Triple Alliance Deputation, ("Times" Report.)

August 3rd, 1916.

"Mr. Asquith said they were already taking steps to collect and classify the various war pledges, if he might so describe them, which had been given affecting Trade Union practices. So far as something like 4,000 controlled establishments were concerned, Part I. of the Munitions Act provided for the continuance of an arbitration machinery for the interpretation of these agreements for a year after the war, and the Government were carefully considering what machinery was required to dispose of differences of interpretation, if there be such, in agreements affecting other works and establishments. Speaking generally on this point, he wished to say that the pledges which had been given, and the obligations incurred under them, were, in the view of the Government, obligations of honor and indisputably valid, and nothing but the assent of all the parties concerned could vary them or dispense with their complete fulfilment."

(*"Daily Chronicle"* Report.)

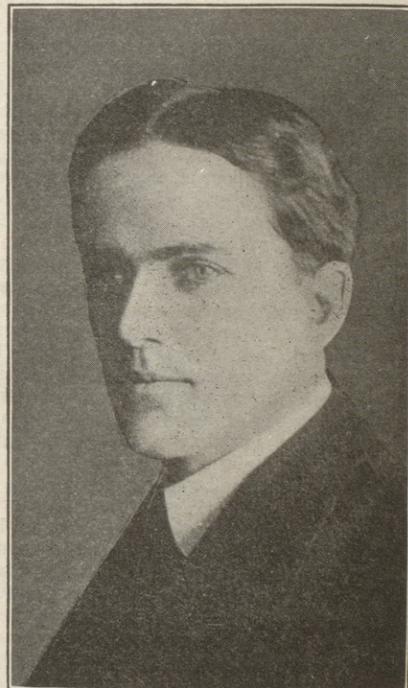
"On the first of the five proposals put before him (restoration of Trade Union practices after the war) the Prime Minister said that most explicit and emphatic pledges had been given that all Trade Union conditions should be restored after the war, and the Government had no intention of departing from that pledge in the least degree. Provision was made for the interpretation of these agreements in all controlled establishments, and the Government was carefully considering the kind of machinery to be set up to dispose of the difficulties of interpretation in other establishments."

Mr. Montagu's Speech, House of Commons,
August 15th, 1916.

"But the cessation of disputes and the postponement of the reforms which slowly emerged from the clash of conflicting interests do not exhaust the full measure of the sacrifices which organized Labour has made. The Trade Unions place on one side the whole armour of Trade Union regulations upon which they had hitherto relied. Far the weapons slowly forged during long years of struggle—rules and customs relating to hours of labour, overtime, the right of entrance to trades, demarcation of industry, the regulation of boy la-

bour, and the exclusion of women from certain classes of occupations—all these, directly or indirectly, might have tended to reduce the output during the war. The Government asked Labour to put all these on one side. It was a great deal to ask. I doubt if any community has ever been asked for greater sacrifices, but with a loyalty and statesmanship which cannot be over-estimated the request was readily granted. The Trade Unions required, and they were right to require, a scrupulous record and recognition of what they were conceding. It was promised to them as a right, but they will receive more, not only the restoration of the system they temporarily abandoned, but the gratitude of the Army and of the nation, and they will, I trust, place the nation still further in their debt by playing an important part in devising some system which will reconcile in the future conflicting industrial interests."

•♦•



D. C. Coleman, the new Vice-President of lines west of Port Arthur, has had a remarkably rapid rise to such a responsible position but has earned it, for he is known in railway circles as a man of exceptional ability. Born at Carleton Place, Ontario, in 1879, Mr. Coleman joined the C. P. R. as a clerk in the assistant Engineer's Office at Fort William in 1899. Rising rapidly he was appointed Superintendent at Nelson, B.C., in 1907, and in 1908 was Superintendent of Car Service, Western Lines. In April, 1912, he was appointed General Superintendent of the Manitoba Division at Winnipeg. In 1913 he became General Superintendent at Calgary and in 1915 Assistant General Manager, Western Lines, Winnipeg.

The Problem of Demobilisation

A statement and some suggestions including Proposals for the Reform of Employment Exchanges

Joint Committee on Labour Problems After the War

Representing the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress:

Mr. H. GOSLING, L.C.C.
Mr. WILL THORNE, M.P.
Rt. Hon. C. W. BOWERMAN, M.P.

Representing the Executive Committee of the Labor Party:

Mr. J. R. CLYNES, M.P.
Mr. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P.
Mr. G. J. WARDLE, M.P.

Representing the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions:

Mr. J. O'GRADY, M.P.
Mr. BEN COOPER.
Mr. BEN TILLETT.

Representing the War Emergency Workers' National Committee:

Mr. ALBERT BELLAMY.
Mr. FRED BRAMLEY.
Mr. SIDNEY WEBB.

Advisory Committee on Demobilization

Mr. ALBERT BELLAMY.
Mr. BEN TILLETT.
Mr. WILL THORNE, M.P.
Mr. ROBERT YOUNG.
Mr. SIDNEY WEBB.

Secretary:

Mr. J. S. MIDDLETON.
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* * *

The problem of demobilisation

The prospect of the simultaneous disbandment of the Army and the munition workers, when Peace is assured, presents the most serious problem to Organized Labor. To resettle all these millions into productive labor, without widespread Unemployment and without causing a disastrous fall in Standard Rates of Wages, will tax all the capacity of our administrators.

The numbers to be dealt with.

The number of persons now supported out of Government funds, who will be discharged after Peace is assured, may be put at between six and eight millions (seven-eights of them men). These include Army, Navy, and auxiliary services, temporary staff of Government Departments, and the workers on munitions and all the other things that the Government is purchasing. Whatever we may allow for the future Peace strength there must, it seems, be six or eight millions to be discharged. This is nearly half the wage-earning population of the kingdom. No such colossal "turning off" of "hands" has ever taken place in any country.

The order of discharge

All these will not be discharged simultaneously. The whole operation may, quite possibly, extend over several years. It must, however, be remembered that these millions of persons will be costing the Exchequer and therefore the tax-payer, something like a couple of million pounds *per day*, so that whilst the disbandment must inevitably be gradual, it is in the national interest that it should not be unnecessarily delayed.

The process of demobilization will probably begin with the munition workers. It is to be anticipated that the shell-makers, and, indeed, practically all others at work on war orders, will, to a very large proportion of their three or four millions, *begin* to be discharged within a few days of Peace being assured. The Government will probably at once stop all new orders and may give notice to terminate running contracts (many of these being terminable on 14 days' notice). Moreover, it will often pay the Government to break a running contract, paying compensation to the capitalist employer only. One large employer is said to have declared that he would discharge a thousand women within 24 hours of the Declaration of Peace.

It is, indeed, to be expected that, within three months, some two or three millions will have been turned off. Of course, many of these will be re-engaged, often by their present employers, as soon as they can be put to new work. What the interval will be, and how many will not be re-engaged by the same employer, will differ enormously from trade to trade and from place to place. In the vast majority of cases there will be at least some interval.

The Army cannot be got rid of so summarily. In the first place the troops cannot be instantly withdrawn from all the various territories they are occupying. Even the battalions and other units at home cannot all be dispensed with for some time. Moreover, even when the War Office decides that this or that unit can safely be dispensed with, the business of separately "discharging" each man, settling up his accounts, receiving every article of his equipment, supplying him with civilian clothes, will—even apart from transportation difficulties—necessarily involve delay. Unless some much more expeditious system is adopted than has hitherto prevailed, it is calculated that the disbandment cannot take place at a greater rate than 5,000 per day. At this rate it would take over six months before even one million men could be released. It would take two years to demobilize three millions.

What the Government has promised to do.

Though the first problem to be faced will be that of the swarm of millions of discharged munition workers and workers in "war trades," the Government do for the soldiers. What the Government has promised to the Army (Lord Newton's authorized statement in the House of Lords on 14th December, 1915) is as follows:—

(a) Each man's papers to be sent through in advance of his discharge to any town in the United Kingdom that he selects. (It is understood that this is to be one month in advance.)

(b) Free railway ticket to that place.

(c) A month's furlough (full pay and separation allowance continuing.)

(d) A gratuity. Amount not published: after the Boer war it was found to be £5 upwards.

(e) A year's unemployment Benefit whenever unemployed or whatever industry the job may be (rate per week not yet announced: probably between 7s. and 12s.).

As these terms were definitely promised by the Government in December, 1915, and as voluntary recruiting took place upon them, the Government could not depart from these provisions in any respect without a grave breach of faith. It is suggested that the Government should be urged, in addition—

(i) *to make it clear that the right to Unemployment Benefit will start from the very day the furlough expires, in case employment has not been obtained;*

(ii) *to make it clear (so as to be fair as between man and man) that this special Unemployment Benefit for discharged soldiers, whether insured or not, will be IN ADDITION TO any Unemployment Benefit to which a man employed in an insured trade is already entitled under the Insurance Act, FOR WHICH HE HAS PAID IN THE PAST AND WILL AGAIN BE COMPULSORILY PAYING AS SOON AS HE STARTS WORK—(to treat the insured man no better than the uninsured would be, virtually, to confiscate what the insured man has paid out of his wages); and*

(iii) *to include in the form which the Paymaster is to fill up for each soldier a question whether he wishes a duplicate form to be sent through to any Trade Union; and to order, in all such cases, that a duplicate of the form sent through to the Employment Exchange shall be sent through simultaneously to the Trade Union designated by the soldier, and in the absence of any address of such Trade Union, to the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress.*

For the munition workers?

But what is so far promised is promised only for the discharged soldier (and the sailor will presumably get no less). The Government has, so far, not announced what provisions will be made for the three or four million workers on munitions and in other "war trades," who will mostly be turned adrift before the soldiers, and much more summarily.

It must be remembered that (a) nearly all these workers are legally forbidden

to leave their employment, and they cannot, therefore, look about now for a permanent situation; (b) that the majority of them—notably the women and laborers—are getting only small earnings, which the rise in prices has made barely enough for subsistence; (c) that in many thousands of cases the workers have left home and come to the "munition towns," in which the "slump" will be specially severe when Peace comes.

It is suggested that the Government be asked to make the same sort of provision for the discharge of these munition workers as it has promised to make for the discharged soldier—that is to say—

- (a) *a month's leave on full pay (at weekly time wages, if payable in the first instance by a private employer to be charged by him to the Government), or at any rate a month's notice;*
- (b) *free railway ticket to any place in the United Kingdom selected by the worker;*
- (c) *Unemployment Benefit for a year;*
- (d) *Organized facilities for obtaining fresh employment.*

The machinery for finding new situations

There will be, in the first year after Peace, several millions of men and women requiring situations. At the same time there will, we may expect, be a more or less pronounced revival of trade, which will—after a longer or shorter interval of unemployment—provide places for these millions. What the Government has to provide is machinery for organizing this gigantic "general post" of workers, so that the aimless wandering after places and the interval of unemployment is each reduced to a minimum.

It has been proposed that the extensive and difficult business of settling these millions of men and women into new situations should be entrusted to (a) the Recruiting Committees under Lord Derby's scheme; (b) the Territorial Associations and regimental committees or societies; or (c) philanthropic or mixed committees in each locality, on which the Soldiers and Sailors' Help Society and the Soldiers and Sailors' Families' Associations would play a leading part.

None of these proposals would be acceptable to Organized Labor, because (i.) it would never do to make the getting of situations for discharged soldiers a matter of charity or favouritism; (ii.) such bodies could not be trusted to keep in view the paramount importance of maintaining the Standard Rates of Wages; and (iii.) it would be impracticable to set up duplicate registers of situations and applicants, in competition with those now maintained, however imperfectly, by the Employment Exchanges.

The trade union as employment agency

The most satisfactory machinery for getting men into new jobs in the same trade is a well-organized and efficient Trade Union, having branches throughout the kingdom and in touch with practically all the establishments.

It has been suggested above that the Government should be pressed to allow every soldier desiring it to have a duplicate paper sent through, one month before his discharge, to the head office of his Trade Union, as given by him (or, in failure to give the address, to the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress for transmission.)

Every Trade Union ought in the meantime to do its best to compile a list of all its members who are serving, and to get into communication with them as to which towns they propose to return, and what situation they desire.

The need for employment exchanges

In view of the fact that some Trade Unions do not undertake the placing of their unemployed members, and that the Employment Exchanges are (and will certainly continue) in existence, that they must necessarily deal with the men insured for Unemployment Benefit, and that a large number of Trade Unions already keep their own "vacant books" at these Exchanges, or otherwise work in conjunction with them, it seems inevitable that the Employment Exchanges—greatly increased in number and accommodation, and working on new lines, under the joint supervision of Trade Unions and employers—should be used for the colossal new business to be undertaken.

Reform of the employment exchanges

Up to the present the Exchanges have been viewed with grave suspicion by the Trade Union movement, and their action in placing men in situations has been fiercely resented in many trades. If they are to prove an effective instrument in this great emergency their administration and control must be greatly reformed.

It is suggested that before Organised Labour can accept the Government Employment Exchanges as the machinery for the coming demobilisation the following reforms should be demanded:—

(a) That in order to keep in line the various Employment Exchange Committees throughout the country and to maintain uniformity of administration there should be a National Employment Committee, consisting of representatives of employers and of Trade Unions in equal numbers (together with consultative representatives of the Board of Trade), which should (i.) deal with complaints and appeals from the various Employment Exchange Committees; (ii.) frame regulations for the administration of Exchanges; (iii.) have before it regular reports as to the state of employment; and (iv.) make such representations to the Board of Trade on the subject as may seem to be required.

(b) That the existing Advisory Committees should be reorganised—without altering their present constitution of half employers and half Trade Union representatives — so that there shall be a separate committee for each town, and for each Employment Exchange area outside the towns.

(c) That the Trade Union representation on each such committee be appointed on the plan adopted by the Statutory War Pensions Committee, viz., the local Trades Council nominating two or three members, and the Trade Unions in the locality (giving preference to any important unions not represented on the Trade Council and having due regard to the grades of skilled and unskilled and women workers) nominating the rest—the Parliamentary

Committee of the Trades Union Congress, in consultation with the standing Joint Committee of Women's Industrial Organisations, acting as referees in case of doubt as to which unions should be thus recognised.

(d) That no other persons be added to such Employment Exchange Committees beyond the employers and the Trade Union representatives thus nominated and a representative of the Board of Trade.

(e) That such Employment Exchange Committees should fix their own meetings and appoint their own secretaries; that they should exercise complete supervision over the operations of their own Employment Exchange, and have access to all registrations; and that all complaints against the Exchange should be placed before them for the investigation and report.

(f) That the Statutory War Pensions Committee be pressed to allow such Employment Exchange Committees to act also as the sub-committees for placing in employment disabled soldiers — the special sub-committees now being appointed for that purpose being dropped.

(g) That, reverting to the practice of the Metropolitan Labour Exchanges prior to their being taken over by the Board of Trade, it should be made a rule that, whenever a dispute has been formally notified to the Employment Exchange, no registration of vacancies at the establishment at which the dispute exists should be made, and no applicants for employment should be referred to that establishment until the dispute is declared by both sides to be terminated.

(h) That the official of any Trade Union within the area should be entitled to examine at the Exchange all demobilisation forms received from the War Office or the Ministry of Munitions in respect of workers describing themselves as belonging to the occupation for which the union acts, in order that he may ascertain which of them belong to the union, and so give them the advantage of the union's efforts to get them quickly into new employment.

(i) That the Employment Exchange should register the conditions as to wages upon which any engagements are made through its agency—the employer being required by statute or regulation to supply the information—as is already done in the case of all engagements of seamen, firemen, etc., on merchant vessels by the mercantile marine offices.

(j) That the National Employment Committee should include in its regulations the terms as to wages, hours, and other conditions of employment upon which situations may be filled through the Exchanges, in such a way as to prevent the Exchanges being used in contravention of the Fair Wage Clause insisted on by the House of Commons and local authorities, or the conditions as to Standard Rates embodied in Part II. of the National Insurance Act.

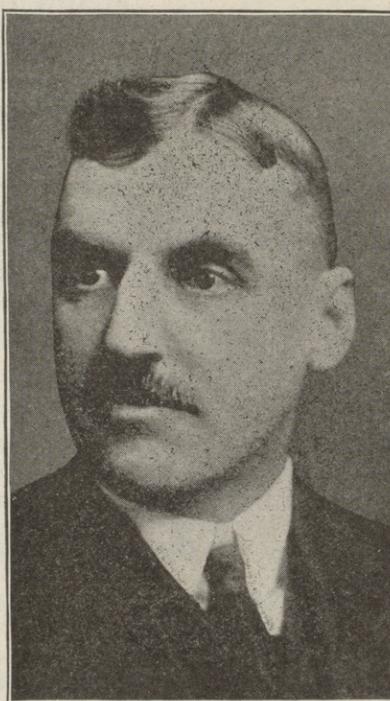
With such reforms in the control and management of the Employment Exchanges, it is suggested that they may safely and advantageously be made use of by the Trade Unions, and be adopted as the machinery for the great "general post" of workers that will follow the Declaration of Peace.



For the vigorous programme which Lord Shaughnessy recently hinted as planned by the Canadian Pacific for the period after the war, the Board of Directors have selected to assist Mr. E. W. Beatty, the new President, a team of Vice-Presidents well known for their driving force and executive ability, and particularly strong in the operating field. Grant Hall, who is Vice-President with jurisdiction over all lines, has been aptly described as a "big man physically with a heart as big as his body." "Grant," as he is known by the rank and file of the railway, is a favorite with everyone from the trackwalker up. He is a disciplinarian, but he is a just disciplinarian, and it is a matter of common knowledge that no matter in what position he may have occupied, since he rose from the ranks in the old Grand Trunk shops, and showed his ability in the old C.P.R. shops at Hochelaga, he has always made it a point to investigate any complaint made to him by a man under his control.

Westerners will tell of the time when he was in charge at Revelstoke some

dozen years ago and when he worked night and day for a week in the mountains to lift one of the worst snow blockades in the history of the transcontinental railway. It is matter of



GRANT HALL

record on the Revelstoke division that "Grant" could get more work out of a body of men than any other half dozen men, and it is largely because he knows how to take off his own coat (if they do such things in snow blockades) and do his own share of the work."

Grant Hall was born at Montreal, November 27th 1863, and was educated at Bishop's College and School, Lennoxville, Quebec. He joined the C.P.R. in 1887 as locomotive foreman and from 1893 to 1898 was general locomotive foreman on the Intercolonial Railway at Moncton, New Brunswick. In September, 1898, he returned to the Canadian Pacific Railway, where he was consecutively general foreman, first at the McAdam and later at the Winnipeg shops; master mechanic of the British Columbia division; assistant superintendent of motive power eastern lines, and superintendent of motor power and car department, western lines; from November, 1911 to December, 1914, assistant general manager, western lines; when he was appointed Vice-President and General Manager.

Freedom of Speech and of the Press

Striking passages from distinguished champions of freedom of expression

1.—AMERICAN QUOTATIONS

Thos. Jefferson : If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.

J. Q. Adams : The freedom of the press should be inviolate.

Thomas Paine : He that would make his own liberty secure, must guard even his enemy from oppression, for if he violates this duty he establishes a precedent that will reach to himself.

Daniel Webster : Important as I deem it, sir, to discuss the policy of the measures at present pursued, it is still more important to maintain the right of such discussion in its full and just extent. * * * It is the ancient and constitutional right of this people to canvass public measures, and the merits of public men. It is a homebred right, a fireside privilege. * * * It is not to be drawn into controversy. It is as undoubted as the right of breathing the air and walking on the earth. Belonging to private life as a right, it belongs to public life as a duty. This high constitutional privilege I shall defend and exercise in all places in time of war, in time of peace and at all times. Living, I will assert it; dying, I will assert it; and should I leave no other inheritance to my children I will leave them the inheritance of free principles and the example of a manly, independent and constitutional defense of them.

William Lloyd Garrison, — (Free Speech and Free Inquiry) : He who is forcibly stopping the mouth of his opponent, or for burning any man at the stake, or thrusting him into prison, or exacting a pecuniary fine from him, or impairing his means of procuring

an honest livelihood, or treating him scornfully, on account of his peculiar view on any subject * * * is under the dominion of a spirit of ruffianism or cowardice, or animated by that fierce intolerance which characterized Paul of Tarsus in his zeal to exterminate the heresy of Christianity. On the other hand, he who forms his opinions from the dictates of enlightened reason, and sincerely desires to be led into all truth, dreads nothing so much as the suppression of free enquiry—is at all times ready to give a reason for the hope that is in him—calmly listens to the objections of others — feels nothing of anger or alarm lest his foundation be swept away by the waves of opposition. It is impossible, therefore, for him to be a persecutor, or to call upon the strong arm of violence to put a gag into the mouth of any one, however heretical in his sentiments. In proportion as we perceive and embrace the truth, do we become meek, heroic, magnanimous, divine.

Theodore Parker — (The Mexican War) : Your President tells us it is treason to talk so! Treason is it? Treason to discuss a war which the government made and which the people are made to pay for? Why, if the people cannot discuss the war they have got to fight and to pay for, who under heaven can? Whose business is it, if it is not yours and mine?

I think lightly of what is called treason against a government. That may be your duty today, or mine, but treason against the people, against mankind, against God, is a great sin, not lightly to be spoken of.

Ralph Waldo Emerson : But if there be a country where knowledge cannot be diffused without perils of mob law and statute law; where speech is not free; where the post-office is violated, mail bags opened and letters tampered with; * * * where liberty is attack-

ed in the primary institution of social life; where the laborer is not secured in the earnings of his own hands; where suffrage is not free and equal—that country is, in all these respects, not civil, but barbarous, and no advantage of soil, coast or climate can resist these suicidal mischiefs.

Wendell Phillips : No matter whose the lips that would speak, they must be free and ungagged. Let us believe that the whole of truth can never do harm to the whole of virtue; and remember that in order to get the whole of truth you must allow every man, right or wrong, freely to utter his conscience, and protect him in so doing. Entire unshackled freedom for every man's life, no matter what his doctrine—the safety of free discussion no matter how wide its range. The community which dares not protect its humblest and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how false or hateful, in only a gang of slaves.

If there is anything in the universe that can't stand discussion, let it crack.

Henry David Thoreau : "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience": Must the citizen ever for a moment, or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator? Why has every man a conscience, then? I think that we should be men first, and subjects afterwards. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right. The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right.

Spring (March 2, 1858) : There is no need of a law to check the license of the press. It is law enough and more than enough to itself. Virtually the Community must have come together and agreed what things shall be uttered, have agreed on a platform and to excommunicate him who departs from it, and no one in a thousand dares utter anything else.

Autumn (November 16, 1858) : A free spoken man, of sound lungs, cannot draw a long breath, without causing your rotten institutions to come toppling down, but the vacuum he makes. Freedom of speech! It hath not entered into your hearts to conceive what those words mean. * * * The church, the state, the school, the magazines, think

they are liberal and free! It is the freedom of the prison yard.

Walt Whitman : I say discuss all and expose all—I am for every topic openly: I say there can be no safety for These States without innovators — without free tongues, and ears willing to hear the tongues.

And I announce as a glory of These States that they respectfully listen to propositions, reforms, fresh views and doctrines from successions of men and women.

Each age with its own growth!

Abraham Lincoln : The man who will not investigate both sides of a question is dishonest.

Prof. Franklin H. Giddings : Our government is based on the agreement both tacit and implied, that the minority shall always have the rights of free speech, of free press, and of free agitation, in order to convert itself if possible from a minority into a majority. As soon as these rights of the minority are denied, it will inevitably resort to secret meetings, conspiracies and finally force. In times of stress, it may be extremely embarrassing for the majority to be hampered in quick, decisive action by an obstinate minority; but nevertheless the recognition of the right of the minority is our sole bond of unity. For this reason, I repeat that any attempt to interfere with the rights of free speech and free press is a blow at the very foundations of our government. (On the Espionage Bill, 1917.)

Mark Twain (in the "Mysterious Stranger"; "Satan" speaking of the effect of an aggressive war on liberty of opinion) : The loud little handful, as usual, will shout for the war. The pulpit will—warily and cautiously—object at first; the great big, dull bulk of the Nation will rub its sleepy eyes and try to make out why there should be a war, and will say, earnestly and indignantly, "It is unjust and dishonorable, and there is no necessity for it." Then the handful will shout louder. A few fair men on the other side will argue and reason against the war with speech and pen, and at first will have a hearing and be applauded; but it will not last long; those others will outshout them,

and presently the anti-war audiences will thin out and lose popularity. Before long you will see this curious thing: the speakers stoned from the platforms, and free speech strangled by hordes of furious men who in their secret hearts are still at one with those stoned speakers — as earlier — but do not dare to say so. And now the whole nation — pulpit and all — will take up the war-cry and shout itself hoarse, and mob any honest man who ventures to open his mouth; and presently such mouths will cease to open. Next the statesmen will invent cheap lies, putting the blame upon the nation that is attacked, and every man will be glad of their conscience-soothing falsities, and will diligently study them, and refuse to examine any refutation of them; and thus he will bye and bye convince himself that the war is just, and will thank God for the better sleep he enjoys after this process of grotesque self-deception.

Woodrow Wilson : If there is one thing we love more than another in the United States it is that every man should have the privilege, unmolested and uncriticized, to utter the real convictions of his mind. . . .

I believe that the weakness of the American character is that there are so few growlers and kickers among us. . . .

Difference of opinion is a sort of mandate of conscience. . . .

We have forgotten the very principle of our origin, if we have forgotten how to object, how to resist, how to agitate, how to pull down and build up, even to the extent of revolutionary practices, if it be necessary to readjust matters. . . .

(The New Freedom) : For a long time this country has lacked one of the institutions which freemen have always and everywhere held fundamental. For a long time there has been no sufficient opportunity of counsel among the people; no place and method of talk, of exchange of opinion, of parley. . . .

I conceive it to be one of the needs of the hour to restore the processes of common counsel. . . .

We must learn, we freemen, to meet as our fathers did, somehow, somewhere, for consultation. . . .

At this opening of a new age, in this its day of unrest and discontent, it is our part to clear the air, to bring about

common counsel, to set up the parliament of the people. . . .

What are the right methods of politics? Why, the right methods are those of public discussion. . . .

The only thing that can ever make a free country is to keep a free, hopeful heart under every jacket in it. . . .

We have been told that it is unpatriotic to criticize public action. Well, if it is, there is a deep disgrace resting upon the origins of this nation. This nation originated in the sharpest sort of criticism of public policy. We originated, to put it in the vernacular, in a kick, and if it be unpatriotic to kick, why then the grown man is unlike the child. . . .

Keep the air clear with constant discussion. . . .

The whole purpose of democracy is that we may hold counsel with one another, so as not to depend on the understanding of one man, but to depend upon the common counsel of all.

2.—ENGLISH QUOTATIONS

John Milton, "Areopagitica" (1644) : Many a man lives a burden to the earth; but a good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life. 'Tis true, no age can restore a life, whereof perhaps there is no great loss; and revolutions of ages do not oft recover the loss of a rejected truth, for the want of which whole nations fare the worse. We should be wary therefore what persecution we raise against the living labours of public men, how we spill that seasoned life of man, preserved and stored up in books; since we see a kind of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdom, and if it extend to the whole impression, a kind of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elemental life, but strikes at the ethereal and fifth essence, the breath of reason itself; slays an immortality rather than a life.

"Censorship" (Licensing).—When a man writes to the world, he summons up all his reason and deliberation to assist him; he searches, meditates, is industrious, and likely consults and confers with his judicious friends; after which done he takes himself to be informed in what he writes, as well as

any that wrote before him; if in this, the most consummate act of his fidelity and ripeness, no years, no industry, no former proof of his abilities, can bring him to that state of maturity, as not to be still mistrusted and suspected, unless he carry all his considerate diligence, all his midnight watchings, and expense of Palladian oil, to the hasty view of an unlesured licenser, perhaps much his younger, perhaps far his inferior in judgment, perhaps one who never knew the labor of book-writing, and if he be not repulsed, or slighted, must appear in print like a puny with his guardian, and his censor's hand on the back of his title to be his bail and surety that he is no idiot, or seducer, it cannot be but a dishonour and derrogation to the author, to the book, to the privilege and dignity of learning.

The State shall be my governors, but not my crities; they may be mistaken in the choice of a licenser, as easily as this licenser may be mistaken in an author.

Truth and understanding are not such wares as to be monopolized and traded in by tickets and statutes and standards.

“Heresy”.—A man may be a heretic in the truth; and if he believes things only because his pastor says so, or the Assembly so determines, without knowing other reason, though his belief be true, yet the very truth he holds becomes his heresy.

For if we be sure we are in the right, and, do not hold the truth guiltily which becomes not, if we ourselves condemn not our own weak and frivolous teaching, and the people for an untaught and irreligious gadding rout, what can be more fair, that when a man judicious, learned, and of a conscience, for aught we know, as good as theirs that taught us what we know, shall not privily from house to house, which is more dangerous, but openly by writing publish to the world what his opinion is, what his reasons, and wherefore that which is not thought cannot be sound?

Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making.

“Liberty of Opinion”.—Give me liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.

And though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worse, in a free and open encounter?

What a collusion is this, when as we are exhorted by the wise man to use diligence, to seek for wisdom as for hidden treasures early and late, that another order shall enjoin us to know nothing but by statute? When a man hath been labouring the hardest labour in the deep mines of knowledge, hath furnished out his findings in all their equipage, drawn forth his reasons as it were a battle ranged, scattered and defeated all objections in his way, calls out his adversary into the plain, offers him the advantage of wind and sun, if he please; only that he may try the matter out by dint of argument, for his opponents then to skulk, to lay ambuscments, to keep a narrow bridge of licensing where the challenger should pass, though it be valour enough in soldiership, is but weakness and cowardice in the wars of Truth.

For who knows not that Truth is strong, next to the Almighty; she needs no policies, nor strategems, nor licensings to mage her victorious; those are the shifts and the defenses that error uses against her power: give her but room, and do not bind her when she sleeps, for then she speaks not true, as the old Proteus did, who spake oracles only when he was caught and bound, but then rather she turns herself into all shapes, except her own, and perhaps tunes her voice according to the time, as Micaiah did before Ahad, until she be adjured in her own likeness. Yet it is not impossible that she may have more shapes than one.

How many other things might be tolerated in peace, and left to conscience, had we but charity, and were it not the chief stronghold of our hypocrisy to be ever judging one another. I fear yet this iron yoke of outward conformity hath left a slavish print upon our necks; the ghost of a linen decency yet

haunts us. We stumble and are impatient at the least dividing of one visible congregation from another though it be not in fundamentals; and through our forwardness to suppress, and our backwardness to recover any enthralled piece of truth out of the grip of custom, we care not to keep truth separated from truth, which is the fiercest rent and disunion of all. We do not see that while we still affect by all means a rigid external formality, we may as soon fall again into a gross conforming stupidity, a stark and dead congealment of wood, and hay, and stubble forced and frozen together, which is more to the sudden degenerating of a Church than many subdichotomies of petty schisms.

Rev. Robert Hall : The law hath amply provided against over acts of sedition and disorder, and to suppress mere opinions by any other method than reasoning and argument is the height of tyranny. Freedom of thought being intimately connected with the happiness and dignity of man in every stage of his being, is of so much more importance than the preservation of any Constitution, that to infringe the former under pretense of supporting the latter, is to sacrifice the means to the end.

Lord Brougham : The great truth has finally gone forth to all the ends of the earth that man shall no more render account to man for his belief, over which he has himself no control. Hence-

forward nothing shall prevail upon us to praise or to blame any one for that which he can no more change than he can the hue of his skin or the height of his stature.

James Bryce ("The American Commonwealth") : One danger—the smaller one—yet sometimes troublesome, is the difficulty of ascertaining the will of the majority. The other danger is that minorities may not sufficiently assert themselves. Where a majority has erred, the only remedy against the prolongation or repetition of its error is in the continued protests and agitation of the minority, an agitation which ought to be peaceably conducted, carried on by voice and pen, but which must be vehement enough to rouse the people and deliver them from the consequences of their blunders.

Bertrand Russell, "Why Men Fight" A free community requires not only legal freedom, but a tolerant public opinion, an absence of that instinctive inquisition into our neighbors' affairs which, under the guise of upholding a high moral standard, enables good people to indulge unconsciously a disposition to cruelty and persecution.

The success in fighting which is achieved by suppressing freedom of thought is brief and very worthless.

Instead of obedience and discipline, we ought to aim at preserving independence and impulse. Instead of ruthlessness, education should try to develop justice in thought.

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The Problems of National Reconstruction

A Summary by the Standing Committee, on plans and propaganda of the Canadian National Reconstruction Groups

PREFACE

The organisation of the Canadian National Reconstruction Groups was begun a year ago for the purpose of studying the problems which have developed by reason of the war in connection with the Returned Soldier, Unemployment, the relations of Capital and Labour, Industrial and Agricultural Development, and general social well-being.

The object of the organisation is to create throughout the Dominion numerous small groups of ten to fifteen persons representing different phases of national activity and opinion, including wherever possible, representatives of the Returned Soldiers and of Capital, Production, and Labour, for the purpose of studying together the problems arising from the war, and of making suggestions for their solution.

To give the Groups some concrete material to work upon, the body which started the movement, constituting itself a Standing Committee on Plans and Propaganda, has collected the opinions and suggestions of many writers. These are embodied in abbreviated form in the following pages, and, wherever practicable, a reference has been made to the publication from which the matter is taken. General statements with no references, represent the prevailing opinion so far as the committee can gather it.

Due to the fact that more attention has been given in England than elsewhere to the subject of Reconstruction, most of the references are to English books and reviews.

The Committee, however, has endeavoured in such cases to connect the references with Canadian conditions.

Necessarily also, the radical viewpoint is greatly predominant, because those who either do not anticipate or do not desire any change from pre-war conditions, have issued little or no literature bearing upon Reconstruction.

It is, however, to be particularly noted that the Standing Committee on Plans and Propaganda, whose work is secretarial in its nature, does not endorse or challenge the opinions or recommendations submitted. They are recorded in order to indicate the nature of the problems, to furnish a basis for discussion, and to suggest some publications to be secured to permit of a thorough study of each subject.

At the same time it has been felt that to present these opinions and recommendations in the somewhat assertive form of a report on policy would be best calculated to stimulate criticism on the part of the Groups. This criticism, either general or detailed, and either of the whole pamphlet or of such chapters as may especially interest particular Groups, is earnestly invited, and will be used as the basis of a revised report by chapters or as a whole, which will again be submitted to the Groups for consideration. In this way it is hoped to arrive at a policy that will not only meet the problems but will also express a united public opinion throughout the country.

The formation of study groups should not be difficult. It is only necessary for anyone who is interested to gather a few friends around him and arrange for regular meetings throughout the winter.

The Standing Committee will do all in its power to assist; and expressly undertakes the duty of informing each Group as to sources of information, appropriate literature, and Government activities. Persons inaugurating or joining a group, will perform a national service. The work will be found interesting, and, with the assistance of the Standing Committee on Plans and Propaganda, will be simple, and will occupy but little time.

It is also the desire of the Committee to co-operate with other bodies which may have similar objects or

which may appoint committees to consider the problems of Reconstruction, such bodies, that is to say, as Canadian Clubs, Rotary Clubs, Ministerial Associations, Canadian Problems Clubs, Women's Clubs, Labour Organisations, Returned Soldiers Societies, The Grain Growers' Association, The Canadian Industrial Reconstruction Association, and all other societies and clubs that may be interested.

The Committee desires to make it plain that the organisation is connected with no political party, and seeks to serve no interests except those which are wholly national. The members of the Committee act in a purely personal capacity.

The Committee hopes that if sufficient interest be shown in the subject of Reconstruction by the public, it may assist in the creation of a Ministry of Reconstruction, which will effectively co-ordinate and further Government action in Canada, in the same manner as is already the case in Great Britain and as is now projected in the United States of America.

Any communications can be addressed to the Honorary Secretary, Mr. Francis Hankin, No. 201 Coristine Building, Montreal, from whom further copies of this publication may be obtained.

The Standing Committee on Plans and Propaganda,

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THE PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION

The Problems of Reconstruction are of two kinds. First are those of Demobilisation and Employment; then follow the Constructive Problems which are dual in nature namely Economic and Human. The economic problems can be more easily stated than the human, but both are vitally important.

A study of the economic aspects will indicate the national importance of adequate food supplies, the control of or access to raw materials, and the greatest possible production at the lowest cost. The war has taught the national need for efficiency of method and for wide co-operation in industry. Economic strength depends largely upon surplus products for exportation, enabling nations to command the products which they require from abroad.

National effort after the war, will therefore centre in Export Trade. Preparations already are being made which owing to the proved advantages of co-operation, are tending towards great

combinations or even towards unification into national industries.

Of equal importance is the human side of the problem, since the utmost industrial efficiency is impossible without the hearty and willing co-operation of the workers. This can only be secured by the provision for them of adequate security, health, housing, and education, and of due opportunity for leisure and self determination. These require co-operation and confidence between capital and labour, necessitating an efficient democratisation of industry.

Reconstruction presupposes Destruction. What is being destroyed throughout the world? The old relationships between the classes; the old ideas of security and fixity of tenure, privileges, occupations, and customs; the old system of "laissez-faire" and individualism.

The men in the trenches and in the munition works are pondering on their sudden transfer from old habits and surroundings to a new life and new relationships in the social order, their new individual importance and power in the Nation, and yet their utter impotence unless they closely co-operate and combine. They have seen a great outpouring of seemingly endless national wealth for the purposes of Destruction, and will not, on the return of peace, be denied a greatly increased expenditure for the purposes of security, comfort, and health. Life at the front has given to the town dweller an opportunity for thought and discussion with other classes, gropingly it may be, on the basis of our social fabric; and the countryman's contact with city life and people has widened his outlook and his demands. There is a criticism of all previously accepted principles of Society. Of our new capacity for thought, it is written in the report of the British Committee of the Privy Council on Scientific and Industrial Research: "It is not often in our history that the nation has found time to think. Now, by a curious paradox, while the flower of her youth and strength are fighting for her freedom and her life, the others have a chance of thinking out the best use to which that life and freedom can be put when they are safe once more. Indeed at the present time,

"activity is as marked in the field of ideas as it is in the field of war".

Men in general have discovered also that they have courage, and this will give them greater determination in the securing of their rights in any after-war conflict of interests that may arise.

Another feature of the times is the expansion of output due to the use of improved machinery, scientific methods of operation, and an increased individual efficiency in the worker.

What in the main are the expectations and problems of the period after the war? Students agree that the centre of change will be in the Industrial World, but opinions differ as to the results that will develop. What are the principles at which all disinterested students profess to aim? The mutual recognition of human rights coincident and consistent with a sound progressiveness that will guarantee Democracy against all threats to its existence.

Moreover, there has to be faced the concrete problem of raising funds for the payment of the interest and the principal of huge National Debts, which can only be done by increased production.

Our task, therefore, both for justice and for the maintenance of Democracy is to secure Democratic efficiency. What are the fundamental requirements to this end? They may be stated to be the following:

- (1) The fullest and fairest possible use of land and natural resources to satisfy the requirements of all.
- (2) Adequate organisation to effect an equitable distribution of raw material to industry in order to satisfy the demands for work and subsistence of the individual: efficient methods, and plant to obtain the greatest possible production.
- (3) Means for ensuring the best mental and physical development of all units.
- (4) The power of securing such a distribution of the products of the land and industry as will furnish a reasonable measure of subsistence, health, leisure and security.
- (5) A truly democratic share in the people engaged therein, whether political, industrial, professional, or other.

Two views are prevalent as to the actual developments to be expected after the war. The first—the pessimistic—is that the autocratic methods introduced during the war will remain too strong to be disarmed; that Capital will continue its close alliance with the State, and will be able effectively to defeat the powers of Labour because of a sudden impoverishment by reason of unemployment, dilution, and the relinquishing of labour's rights and customs. This will result in class discontent, disaffection, and eventual rebellion. "AE" (Mr. George Russell) writes:—

"I think the menace of the Peace 'before us is greater than the menace 'of the unconcluded war. I have fore- 'bodings that the condition of labour 'a few years after peace is declared, 'will be worse than they have been for 'nigh a century. I cannot reason it 'out, but my intuitions are to the effect 'that the conditions will soon be ripe 'for social revolution, and personally, 'I would be more concerned about the 'education of the leaders of the social 'revolution than the education of the 'present captains of industry."

Others see causes for trouble arising from the initial apathy of the people to Reconstruction Problems, and a possible reaction after the war towards gaiety and indifference, resulting in the easy assumption of power by vested interests, and its eventual resumption by the people through revolution. This latter eventuality is feared by some on the ground that men accustomed to direct methods may not hesitate to adopt like measures if goaded by oppression or starvation.

Again, the troubles may be caused by dislocation resulting from the speed of the changes.

On the other hand, there are those who see, in the extended franchise, the increased interest of the workers, the evidences of great national wealth, the intervention of the State in industry, grounds of hope for a democratic share in the control and products of industry by the workers; for the continuance and development of national direction of the products of land; for State supervision of housing and health; and for enlarged and more equitable opportunities for education.

The soundness of these respective views can only be determined by the event. The post bellum success of any particular nation measured only by the volume of its production and exports is equally difficult to foretell, as no matter what direct preparations may be made for raw material, transport and finance, and the benefits of combinations, yet if the cornerstone of the economic fabric, namely, the worker and his satisfaction, be neglected, all these preparations will be nullified by unrest.

These hopes and fears are centred in the world of industry and labour, and facing that world are the following concrete problems: demobilisation and the exodus from war industries; the prevention of unemployment; the securing and distribution of raw materials and food. Less urgent than these, but intimately connected with them, are the provision of effective machinery for the settlement of industrial disputes, the development of an Industrial Constitution, the promotion of efficiency of production (which will include scientific management); the distribution of raw materials and products, with measures to develop overseas trade; the political and industrial status of women; the vocational training, and the use of disabled soldiers in industry; the extension of education, general, scientific and technical, including part time education for adolescents; the development and effective industrial use of scientific research; the improvement of agricultural conditions as to finance, machinery and comfort; and the protection of national health. As national questions, these subjects will touch upon political, such as the limits of State interference in industry, and finance; unemployment insurance; aliens and immigration; the sources and the incident of taxation; Imperial and International relations.

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To the *Canadian Railroader*.

CHILD DELINQUENCY

In an obscure corner of the Canadian metropolis stands an unobtrusive grey building whose doors are never barred and whose lights are never dimmed. For thousands in this city of wealth, churches and natural beauty, this institution has no meaning. It is almost non-existent but to thousands of others, less wise or less fortunate, perhaps, it has. Here men and women and children of all nations and creeds have found solace for their aching hearts, advice and inspiration which has helped them out of difficult and sometimes the most tragic moments in their lives.

This institution is presided over by one of the most humane, patient and democratic of men. Kindly in his advice, wise in his judgments and just in his decisions and it is safe to say that long after this man, giving of his labor so generously, has passed to the Great Beyond thousands of children, grown at manhood and womanhood, will not regret the day they listened to his tender but firm admonitions and followed his fatherly advice. To no man or institution in this city do the workingmen owe a greater debt of gratitude than to Judge Choquet and the tribunal over which he presides, called the Juvenile Court, where the protecting paternal arm of the law is used to prevent helpless children becoming wrecked on the barque of social indifference, greed and brutal strife.

For the past seven years, years which I consider in experience the richest of my life, I have been privileged to assist Judge Choquet in my capacity as probation officer. As I sat daily watching that melancholy procession pass in and out, listening to the same sordid story of willfulness, petty thieving, dislike for school, bad temper, vicious habits, sickness, unemployment, poverty and parental disagreement, the conviction was steadily being borne in upon me that there must be deep and underlying causes for this terrible trinity of crime, disease and poverty. This conviction burned itself into my soul until I could not rest. I began to ask questions and search out causes foreign

to my imagination heretofore. The deeper I went into the social tangle, the more I saw the law of cause and effect being worked out and the more involved and reprehensible did the community of smug respectables appear. The weekly pew warmers, the clergy, the professors, the captains of industry and the legislators and those who have the power to speak or protest but who from ulterior motives cures the nation through their policy of greed, fear and silence. The non-existence of these social lackeys is better than their existence, for like the parasites are but useless growths on the body politic. They take, but contribute nothing. They cannot or will not see that the distress and misery of the masses is a challenge to them, and ignorance and moral lapses of the poor are their responsibility.

The picture of these incapable victimized parents and helpless children of the poor haunted me day and night, from the funeral dirge of their unhappy wail and the ghosts of their legions before I could not escape their bony arms, chocked my breath and their wiry fingers hammered into my brain, the fact of the purpose less agony of their birth, the inhuman causes of their death and the crime of allowing a civilization to continue which starves or poisons babes into untimely graves and allows thousands of those who do survive to go ragged, hungry, ignorant, and unfitted for life and pushes them finally into the bottomless pit where crimes, disease and poverty walk hand in hand. Sup at the same table, sleep in the same bed, go to the same grave, and according to our good theologians escape the same heaven and inhabit the same hell.

So far poverty and crime seems to have baffled the good and the wise. The good hold to the theory of total depravity and the devil idea, while the wise say everyone is given free will and if certain individuals are so base and foolish as to choose to wallow in poverty, crime and disease, when they might be sane, healthy, wealthy and wise, that's their lookout! That's hu-

man nature and you can't change human nature. These wise acres cannot see that human nature is being changed almost every hour, under their very eyes.

This is, however, another school of thought, the positive as opposed to the old abstract and metaphysical school which says: "There are deep underlying social forces which produce acts, termed good or bad by society and jurisprudence." That to understand crime, these positive facts must be studied in their relation to the moral, mental and physical influence on the delinquent. That criminal justice must rejuvenate itself in the pure bath of natural sciences and substitute in place of abstraction the living and concrete study of facts."

When such a study takes place, jails will give way to schools and hospitals and penitentiaries to workshops, judicial fines and blunders to common sense befitting the dignity of the law, justice will then rule in its truest sense.

Children's courts are a step in this direction and what is done to-day for children will be done to-morrow for adults who are but children of a larger growth. These courts are demonstrating beyond a doubt that crime and poverty are not an inherent and an immutable condition of the race. The truth is, that crimes in childhood is due largely to physical ailments and social conditions. Doctors tell us that disease caused by bacteria is small in comparison to diseases caused through poverty and dirt. The underfed, ignorant, untrained child reared in a congested rockery, suffering from one or more physical defects, listening to the ungrammatical jargon of poverty roe, knowing only the ugly side of life, starts out handicapped, and has ninety nine out of a hundred chances of appearing in the juvenal court as compared to the healthy, happy, educated child whose life has been spent mid surroundings befitting a Christian civilization and the birthright of every child. This is borne out from the fact that in every city the majority of children appearing before the Juvenile Courts are the children of the poor, whose parents in most cases are honest and desirous of seeing their children better equipped for life, than they themselves have been

but whose incomes are so small, they cannot allow them to finish in the preparatory schools, much less send them to high and technical schools or college. Seventy-five per cent of the children who comes before the court and whose homes I visit, come from homes where the breadwinner is not earning more than fifteen dollars per week, often less. This is not even a steady income, sickness and seasonable occupation always claiming weeks, sometimes months annually. Over fifty per cent of the lads sent to the Boys' Farm are the sons of widows or have only one parent. A tremendous proportion of the children are physically below par, and consequently mentally retarded. Many of them in this enlightened twentieth century not knowing how to read or write. Seventy per cent of the children who have passed through my hands are the oldest of the family, who have had to play the part of little father or mother, looking after the younger children, while father and mother both go to work, to help maintain the family. Can these facts be refuted or ignored in their relation to child crime or to the making of older criminals? Are the children of the poor born more degenerate and dishonest or is their environment and lack of opportunity mostly to blame? This I will leave to the judgement of the reader.

The demand of capital for cheap child laborers, more machine tenders, the greed of landlords for exorbitant rents, creating unspeakable housing conditions, the commercializing of every avenue of amusement and recreation, pictures depicting, revolting and loathsome scenes of human passions, the press with its vivid and often exaggerated stories of war, how many we kill, how we kill and why we must continue to kill and avenge the enemy, the pulpit with its anti-christian doctrine of the glories of this phase of civilization and its lack of true ethical and religious training, cigarette smoking, gambling, drinking and horse racing are all powerful factors in lowering the whole moral standard of the nation and manufacturing child monstrosities.

The increase of child crime since the war in every nation, particularly in large industrial centres is a proof of

these, no doubt to some, overdrawn statements. The child is gaining a distorted abnormal vision of the whole social fabric. There is positively no place where the helpless, innocent child can turn for safety and be protected from these false and ungodly teachings, even the home, the most sacred place of all has been invaded. On the canvas of its undiscerning, immature brain pictures and impressions are being made which are bound to influence the child through life for good or ill and in the near future we will reap in action, the seeds we are sowing in the minds of these helpless little victims.

Typhoid is not a cause in itself but an effect or disease caused through a filth germ. Doctors at one time were ignorant of this cause, but science set about asking what is typhoid, how is it spread and what can be done to destroy or minimize its effect? And science found the answer,—found the germ, discovered the sources of contamination and most important of all the means for prevention. Isolate the patient, boil the water, inspect the milk, clean up the garbage, swat the fly and inject the serum, they said, and behold magic-like the typhoid germs were crippled and soon will be locked up with the other and at one time supposedly incurable diseases, in the closet where time and intelligence keep the outworn garments of the past. May we now hope for such an awakening in the realm of social disease and criminology, discover the causes of poverty, the sources of crime and abolish them, can we not? Isolate the abnormal sex pervert, the syphilitic and prevent them multiplying. Inspect the child regularly to protect his health, the school and home to ensure good air and sanitation, the food and water to prevent poisoning? Erect gymnasiums, lay out playgrounds and engage instructors to teach children the science of their body and the value of health. Erect homes fit for children to be born and reared in, guarantee a school where they will be anxious to gather and loathe to depart from, and education something more than the machinelike following of a curriculum, unrelated to the facts of life, make education a means whereby children will not only be equipped to earn a living, but will learn

the art of living life in its fullest. Make the school a place where the special talents and creative forces of every child will be encouraged and have full and free play and the pursuit of learning and knowledge, a joy instead of the uninteresting drudgery it now is for most children? These are but a few preliminary steps in the prevention of child delinquency and race betterment, steps necessary and bound to bear good fruit, bound to lessen court and criminal expenses, reduce the need for reformatories, jails and penitentiaries and eventually wipe out much of the need for that modern crutch, organized charity and for that generally unwelcome visitor of the poor, the social worker or investigator.

The child cannot be held responsible or blamed for his poverty and crime: he is born neither moral nor immoral, but unmoral, born neither Protestant nor Catholic just a child, the raw material to be moulded as parents and society dictates. He is neither master of his destiny nor captain of his soul. Born into this world absolutely dependent, the helpless victim of transmitted and present environment, his home, school, church, and street. "Heredity gives us the warp and woof of our physical life but environment is the loom on which is woven the fabric of our existence." The environment of our ancestors and the condition of life which we are born into largely determines what we are to-day and what our children will be to-morrow. No one class of children are more criminal or stupid than another. Nature is generous and distributes her gifts to rich and poor alike, it is in most cases, opportunity or the lack of it that makes the difference. Spiritual and intellectual geniuses are being daily crushed out, through lack of opportunity caused by poverty or by being surfeited with too much wealth. We manufacture criminals out of the raw material of childhood, through the ever increasing greed of the few on the one side and the increasing slum population in our large industrial centers on the other. My work leads me where I may not only ask questions as to wages, number in family, rent, food and so forth, but where I can see for myself poverty, doing its deadly work night and day. The

raw material being finished while I wait." "Yes finished"! Depleted in body, warped in mind, crippled spiritually, little undersized children ground into the glass and cotton, the flowers and bon bons, the garments and canned goods which they help to manufacture. Not because their labor is essential but because dividends are of more concern than children's lives and morals.

If children are shut out from play and rest, pure air and sunshine, from home, love, art, music, flowers, birds, animals, companions and every influence which develops and lifts mankind above mere beasts of burden, what can we expect but degenerate human beings? These children chained as they are in the cradle to want and misery cannot be expected to maintain or develop mental, moral or physical equilibrium. A rose or fruit-tree planted where the sunshine cannot reach will not bring forth fruit or flowers, neither will the blossoms of virtue, love and intelligence be brought forth from human beings deprived of every civilizing and humanizing influence.

Faced as these children are with poverty and the sordid necessity of eking out an existence. In constant contact with only the materialistic and ugly commercial things of life, the machine, the factory, the cash register, the type writer, the time clock, the coarse, often foul mouthed boss and most deadly of all, producing without relation to need or beauty, money making the only incentive, learning nothing completely, suppressing every creative impulse, is it any wonder these children flit from job to job, become weak in body and will, feeble in mind and drift into the courts and eventually become a charge on society. They are sacrificed to the god of profits so that a few men may acquire great power and a few women live in idleness and luxury, poisoning the lives and morals of thousands of young girls who try to copy the example and styles set by them.

The daughters of the poor are perplexing the virtuous and the good, Social Workers, as never before, are working overtime. Years of prayer maudlin tears, good advice and punishment seem to have made little impres-

sion. The tide is rising higher daily. Can it be possible, girls are growing more immoral, more lacking in common decency, and more attracted to the hideous life of the street rather than to the comforts of home, the blessings of health and the respect of their friends and the community? Or are conditions in industry and everywhere surrounding them growing more deadly?

Maggie Clarke of Swilcan Alley is twin sister to Marguerite Clarke of Swelldom Ave. Both like pretty dresses, jewelry, parties, dances, the attention and flattery of the opposite sex. Both dream of love, home and babies. Neither cares particularly for work or the humdrum of school. One has the advantage of her parents, home and protection, selected friends, good food and clothes, parties and motors and pleasure and ease, while the other works for a pittance in a factory or sweatshop, makes chance acquaintances on the street and in picture shows, lives in a cold cheerless room or is a member of a large family living in congested quarters with never a place to bring a friend, never good appetising food, always longings and ambitions which remain unsatisfied no matter how hard she works, her pleasures snatched in the same manner as she snatches a moment to rest from the boss's time, life for the most part one long uninteresting grind, little encouragement, less appreciation, no promise of a brighter future except in the realm of dreams which seldom come true. Can one wonder that a few such as she, fall a prey to the men ready to cater to her unsatisfied longings? She is happy at least for a while and the future doesn't matter. It never was very promising for her even at best. This is the problem of the delinquent girl, inadequately stated. The question confronting the church and social upholders is, can an institution solve this problem, will this religious creed or that legislative reform set these conditions straight? Or is a wholesale readjustment of society which will guarantee a living wage, vocational training, proper homes and recreation and all that tends to procure a fully expressed, well rounded life both inside and out of the home and in whatever talents lie?

An increase or decrease of the child death rate, child labor and child crime is the barometer indicating the value or failure of our religious, social and educational institutions. Every infant who dies, every child who leaves school to enter the ranks of child labor, every boy and girl who is hailed before the courts is a fresh proof of our social decay and inefficiency, is a silent reproach to our statesmen, ministers of the gospel, captains of industry, college professors and ladies of leisure. Every school erected and social centre opened is a proof of our advancement. Every orphanage and reformatory closed, is a sign of our intelligence. Shall we continue to erect reformatories which suppress and deform the individual, or educational and recreation centres which awaken ambition and stir the imagination? Shall we continue to punish and exploit the weak or shall we train and direct energy. Shall the making of money or the making of citizens be the most important duty of the State?

The war has brought us face to face with these questions and facts as never before. In fact it has added to them and they must be solved. Neither charity, moral suasion, institutions of a punitive nature, the passing of good resolutions or even the giving of cheques can solve or touch these problems. The nation which will not go further is a perishing one. The remedy must and can be found but we must look below the surface, find the causes and go forth fearlessly armed with knowledge and science to abolish them.

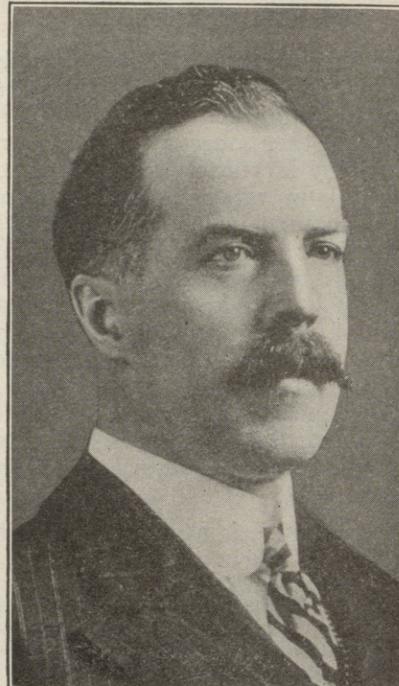
Rose Henderson.

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To the *Canadian Railroader*.

A. D. MacTier, who is now Vice-President in charge of lines east of Port Arthur, like his former chief, David McNicoll, was born in Scotland and proud of his birth. He came to Canada when a young man and entered the ser-



A. D. MACTIER

vice of the C.P.R. as stenographer in the Baggage Department in 1887, becoming assistant to the Superintendent of Sleeping and Dining Cars in 1889. From 1891 to 1896 he was in the Car Service Stores and Fuel Departments, and from 1896 to 1899 was General Baggage Agent. From 1899 to 1907 he held the position of General Fuel Agent, when he was appointed assistant to the Vice-President. In December, 1912, he was appointed General Manager, Eastern Lines.

Mr. MacTier is very popular with the men on the road, whose interests he has always made his first concern. He has always insisted on giving proper credit for meritorious service. This is the first time that a special Vice-President has been appointed to look after Eastern Lines and it is a tribute to Mr. MacTier's special ability that he should have been chosen by the Directors to fill it.

THE FARMERS' PLATFORM

(Continued from last number)

Taxation of Unimproved Land Values and Natural Resources.

When the tariff shall have been reduced to a revenue basis, it will be necessary to supplement the national income from other sources. This we propose to do by levying a direct tax on unimproved land values, including a tax upon all natural resources, as well as by formulating a program for the imposition of a sharply graduated personal income tax. In addition, the Canadian Council of Agriculture strongly advocates the placing of a heavily graduated inheritance tax on large estates, and a graduated income tax on the profits of corporations. Let us consider the tax on unimproved land values and natural resources, first.

A little over seventy years ago the great Sage of Chelsea, Carlyle, asked:

"Why is it that any well-formed horse, with its stupid head and clumsy hoof, can always fetch a good price in the market, while a man, with that marvelous head on his shoulders, and those wonderful hands at the end of his shacklebones, often is not only worth nothing to society, but society can afford to pay him a good round sum if he will only consent to go and drown himself ? "

This is a question which has puzzled many of the wise men of the ages and seems even today, to most of us, as insoluble as the riddle of the Sphinx. And yet if we are to have any semblance to a real democracy, it is imperative that an answer be found to this question.

It is not denied of course that the average man has made progress in material well-being during the last hundred years. Had he not done so, it would have been impossible for the modern state to have survived the indictment sure to have been brought against it. Many radical thinkers have made such an indictment against the great modern democracies as well as against the autocracies of the old world; but although we hold that there is much of truth and justice in these attacks, we look for the attainment of economic freedom, not in the ideal state of a far dis-

tant future, nor in a society to rise on the ruins of the present social organization, but within a rejuvenated and reformed society itself. We feel that the tools and equipment for the nobler economic edifice are at hand, if we but have the courage to use them.

Nevertheless, as we have shown above, the condition of the average family in the United States and Canada—two of the freest democracies in the world—is far from satisfactory, from an economic point of view. There are some 7,000,000 families in the Republic living on an annual income of \$500 per year, and the conditions under which Canadian workers labor are not any better. Leaving out of account the increase in wages brought about by the war—an increase more than offset by the high cost of living—it may be shown that even skilled Canadian workmen are living close to the subsistence level, while the laboring class are on the verge of poverty. Those who are sceptical on these points may consult the figures in the official census of Canada concerning manufacturing establishments, the value of the industrial output and the wages paid. An illuminating document bearing on this problem, which is well worth studying, is the printed report of the investigation conducted by a board of inquiry, under the chairmanship of W. L. McKenzie King, into the strike of the Dominion Textile Company's employees. It was there disclosed that the common stock of the concern cost 10 cents on the dollar and paid 50 per cent. by way of dividends. Nevertheless, the company precipitated a strike by reducing wages 10 per cent., although the average wage paid was less than \$2.00 per day. But not only has labor suffered under the intolerable burden of high taxation and low wages, in this land of high protection, but agriculture has offered little or no opportunity for the earning of a decent livelihood. When it is recalled that since 1911 large areas of land have been withdrawn from tillage in the Dominion, it will be realized that something is radically wrong with the economic life of this country.

Taxation According to Ability

The great defect in the economic organization of Canada is found in its system of taxation—a system that does not proportion taxation according to ability to pay, but rather according to privilege and the power in politics of the various classes concerned. It is for that reason that the Canadian Council of Agriculture demands that indirect taxation shall, as far as possible, be abolished. It demands, moreover, that direct taxes shall be laid in such a way that those able to bear the burden shall pay in proportion to their ability, and that it shall be known, beyond doubt or peradventure, just from what sources taxes are derived. As a first step, the council advocates that a direct tax be placed upon unimproved land values and natural resources, the latter of which have built up colossal fortunes with no adequate return to the people, both in Canada and the United States. It must not be inferred, however, that this proposal in tantamount to the adoption of the single tax—a solution of social and economic problems that lies beyond the realm of our present discussion and quite outside of our program. It is necessary to lay emphasis upon this point, inasmuch as various western cities have exempted improvements from taxation and have been credited with introducing and applying the single tax. We have not space, nor is it indeed necessary, to discuss all that is involved in the single tax; but it is essential to point out that it is fundamentally a single tax, taking the place of all other forms of taxation. When, therefore, revenues fell off in the cities of Western Canada, in the year or two of depression culminating in the outbreak of war in August, 1914, and critics rushed into the public press with diatribes upon the alleged failure of the single tax, is quite patent that they were ignorant of the principles and problems involved. The Canadian Council of Agriculture, as has been remarked, advocates a tax upon unimproved land values and natural resources, not as a complete program of fiscal reform, but only as an integral part thereof.

Such a tax attempts to get at the "unearned increment"—the value that inheres in land, whether urban, suburban or rural, because of the growth of population or the development of industry.

In the same way the tax takes for the use of community, because created by the community, the economic value attaching to timber limits, water powers and mines, as well as the unearned increment that arises in connection with the operation of railroads and other public and quasi-public enterprises. With the inauguration of this part of our program, the fiscal and subsistence problems will have been brought well on toward their solution.

Assessment Problem Solved

It should be distinctly understood that a tax upon unimproved land values means precisely what the word implies—that no tax is to be laid upon labor, the products of labor or upon invested capital. The farmer will reap the full fruit of his efforts and will secure the market rate of interest upon his capital. The tax will be laid upon the unimproved value of the land alone, and he will be in no wise penalized upon his improvements or his labor. It was quite common a few years ago to insist that no such tax could be laid, that it was impossible to separate the improvements due to capital and labor from the value inhering in the land alone—a value that arises from the growth of population, the efforts of society to perfect its industrial equipment, or the prices that accrue for land products through a world demand. This argument, however, has been shown, conclusively, to be quite untenable. Separate assessments for land values, aside from improvements, have been made in New York since 1903, and in numerous other American and Canadian cities, including Boston, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Detroit, San Francisco, Edmonton, Winnipeg and Vancouver. Such separate assessments have been made also in New South Wales, New Zealand and other Australasian states, as well as in the United Kingdom and Germany. It is certain, therefore, that there are no insuperable practical obstacles in the way of the successful operation of this tax.

An equitable tax on land values, excluding improvements, would yield beyond any doubt a large revenue to the state. That this is true is clear from a study of the colossal growth of land values in Canadian cities, as well as in rural municipalities, within the

past decade. The assessment of land values in Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg, during these years, shows a staggering increase in the value of city lands—a value, be it remembered, that has accrued, not from any economic activity on the part of owners, but through the work and labor of the whole community. That the unearned increment upon urban lands has reached an enormous total is seen in New York city, which presents, perhaps, the most striking example. According to the report of the Commissioners of Taxes and Assessments for that city (1908), the assessment of real estate there exceeded in value that of the ordinary real estate of all the states and territories west of the Mississippi, including the assessments of Minnesota and Louisiana. The value of western rural lands has also greatly increased, not only of lands under tillage, but of those vast areas held by the railroads, the Hudson's Bay Company and other corporations, as well as by private individuals, for speculative purposes.

The menace of increasing population, in connection with a fixed supply of land, has been felt by economists and publicists from the time of Ricardo. Food—and land sites in the cities—tend to increasing scarcity, though the pressure of population, and hence to ever-rising prices. It naturally follows that rents for urban and city lands have steadily increased, and the values based upon these rents have necessarily kept pace with them. A smaller per capita equipment of land means an intensified demand for its use; and it is here that the speculators snatch from the toilers profits which they have had no part in creating. Pursuing a dog in the manger policy, they hold their lands out of cultivation until the labor of the surrounding farmers gives them an increased value. Even in the cities the lots held by speculators lie useless. They are not used for park land or for play lands; even the small boy is driven from them. Thus it is that the speculators in land values throughout the whole country wax fat by the general hunger and want of the nation. It is readily seen, too, that unless the city lots are driven into use through taxation, sites become artificially scarce and rents rise. There is no doubt as to who ultimately

pays these extortionate rents, just as upon the high cost of living, so vitally important that it must not be overlooked.

Railway Land Grants

The railroads are the largest speculators in lands in the Dominion and have received enormous free grants from both the federal as well as the provincial governments, as the following table shows:—

Land Grants to Canadian Northern

<i>Location</i>	<i>Received</i>	<i>Sold</i>
	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Acres</i>
Nova Scotia	150,000	150,000
Quebec	402,860	
Ontario	2,000,000	
Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta	4,002,848	3,159,720
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	6,555,708	3,309,720

Land Grants to Canadian Pacific

	<i>Acres</i>
By Dominion (excluding land purchased)	21,634,198
By British Columbia	6,388,998
	<hr/>
By Land Sales to June 30, 1916..	28,023,188
By Land still in hand	16,541,056
	<hr/>
	11,482,132

The Canadian Pacific has received by way of proceeds from the sale of lands and townsites, up to June 30, 1916, the sum of \$123,810,124, and yet this corporation on its original grant of 25,000,000 has escaped taxation and has still enormous areas held in reserve. Granted that the Canadian Pacific has done much, through irrigation and otherwise, to improve its land holdings in the Canadian west, it still remains true that it reaps its chief profits thereunder through the labor expanded by the thousands of pioneers who have risked their all, including even life itself, by trekking out into the raw prairies and opening them up for civilization. It seems only just, therefore, that the vast areas of idle lands held for speculative purposes in Canada, and particularly in the west, should be subjected not only to the ordinary tax, but to a super-tax as well. This would be mere justice in view of the fact that the farmers, through their purchase of various commodities, are already bearing a heavy burden of taxation and are thereby materially helping to finance the war. But not only is the idle land withdrawn from

productive use, but it is also contributing little or nothing to meet the ordinary expenses of government, to say nothing of war expenditures.*

Steady Growing in Favor

The Australian states have for many years levied a tax upon idle lands, as has also New Zealand. In fact the government of the latter dominion was compelled to use the land value tax as an instrument for breaking up large estates and to force unproductive lands into cultivation. But we do not need to turn our eyes to the far-off Australasian states to see this principle into practice. Whatever Germany's faults may have been in seizing Kiao Chou and the Shantung Peninsula from China, she at least and speculators were pre-empting large far as fiscal expediencies were concerned. Observing that the land-grabbers and speculators were pre-empting large areas for speculative purposes, a tax was laid upon the unearned increment, which quickly drove these lands into use. The German Empire found it worth while to apply this mode of taxation in German cities at home, and before the war 9.5 per cent. of the unearned increment on city lands was appropriated by the government for national purposes. In the famous budget of 1909, Mr. Lloyd George made provision for the appropriation of part of the unearned increment arising from increased land values, for national needs. The truth is that everywhere, among the most enlightened communities as well as in the most enlightened states, the principle of appropriating at least part of the unearned increment for social purposes is making headway.

It has been objected that the land values tax is fiscally unsound, that it contains grave political defects, that it is ethically wrong, and that it is worth-

less as a scheme of taxation in poor communities and in those countries that are still in the pioneer stage. These objections are levelled, however, for the most part, against the land values tax as a single tax. But the Canadian Council of Agriculture, as explained above, proposes to make the unimproved land value tax but a part of its whole fiscal scheme. Therefore the objection that it is fiscally defective, inasmuch as it can yield little revenue when values collapse, or when a boom burst, is of no material import. The same may be said for the second objection, namely, that it contains grave political defects since it would abolish the protective tariff as a political and economic expedient. Aside from the question of the land values tax altogether, we look forward to the day when the tariff will be reduced to a revenue basis and when it therefore will cease to be a political question of any significance. To the third objection, that it is ethically wrong, inasmuch as it exempts many persons of large income from taxation, it may be said that the Canadian Council of Agriculture demands that an income tax shall be instituted as an integral part of Canada's fiscal program. And, finally, to the objection that in pioneer communities the land is cheap, and personal wealth the only source of income, we may say that in such case the tax would be so light as to be scarcely felt, and that, moreover, the pioneers will be given an opportunity through a just scheme of taxation, under which those able to pay will bear the burden, to improve their lands and increase their value. Thus the whole argument against the unimproved land values tax breaks down. Of course it is freely admitted that there are other unearned increments, and that in justice these also should be appropriated for the benefit of the state. This problem will be considered later in connection with the taxation of corporations and government ownership of natural resources.

The Graduated Personal Income Tax

We have already referred to the fact that the personal income tax imposed for federal purposes is an essential part of our fiscal program. The imposition of this tax is demanded by the council because, perhaps more than any other tax, it measures faculty or ability to pay. The leading investigators of the science

* Hon. W. J. Roche stated recently in parliament that there was an enormous area of idle land available for settlement in the three prairie provinces. He asserted that within 15 miles of the railways, there are in Manitoba 2,144,256 acres; in Saskatchewan, 1,407,738; and in Alberta, 5,696,512. Within 20 miles of the railways there are available in Manitoba, 2,552,736 acres; in Saskatchewan, 1,802,416 acres; and in Alberta, 6,891,008 acres. Dr. Roche said that this was not all prairie land. Most of it was scrub land, but it was suitable for agricultural purposes.

of finance have long been convinced that income is a far juster test of ability to bear taxation than the mere possession of property. As already noted, in pioneer communities, the people are really "land poor"—the mere possession of property in this instance does not, and cannot, indicate ability to pay. Modern economists are, therefore, in substantial agreement that taxes should as far as possible be laid upon the source of wealth, income, and not upon production or consumption. It is evident that the tariff in Canada places an intolerable burden both upon producers' goods and upon consumable commodities.

Everyone will recall that, at the outbreak of war, all countries depending upon the tariff for revenue found their finances thrown into a state of chaos. This was true, at the outset, of Canada, the United States, the South American republics and, notably, of Germany. In the last mentioned instance it was impossible, to be sure, to carry on any foreign trade whatever, with the exception of that conducted with contiguous neutral states. Thus, at the precise moment when it was imperatively necessary to provide funds for carrying on the war, the Central Empires found their main source of income cut off at one stroke. It was quite different with free trade England. Never having depended upon the tariff as her enemies had done, as the main source of revenue before the war, the United Kingdom in a marvellously short time set her financial affairs in order. Income taxes, estate duties, the revenue derived from the unearned increment tax, and new imposts laid upon wines, beers, spirits, tobacco, coffee, sugar, tea, with corresponding excise duties, soon yielded a revenue sufficiently great to place the fiscal affairs of Great Britain on a buoyant basis. The income taxes proved a veritable sheet anchor in the storm that overwhelmed the world, and demonstrated by their quick response to the needs of the hour their vital value as an elastic source of revenue. In other words, while many taxes may be suddenly lowered, only a very few, relatively speaking, can be increased to meet emergency conditions. In this respect the income tax is a war tax *par excellence*.

The English income tax has for many years played the part of a balance wheel on the fiscal machine. It has preserved

the equilibrium of the budget and regulated the financial forces of the United Kingdom. Within the last decade particularly, the British income taxes have been efficiently and scientifically administered. The chancellor of the exchequer has taken care to make a sharp differentiation between "earned" and "unearned" incomes, whereby labor and the products of labor are taxed more lightly than the revenue derived from property investments. This is eminently fair and just, inasmuch as taxation should always be so imposed as to encourage productive effort and the output of economic goods. In addition the English tax provides for "abatements"—that is to say, deductions are made from the smaller incomes, in proportion to the size of the family and so forth, in such a way as to get at the real tax-paying power of the various classes in the community. Moreover, a super-tax is laid upon large incomes, making for the graduation of the tax in a progressive manner. Thus, at both ends of the income tax, care is taken to see that faculty or capacity to bear the burden is given its due weight.

British Income Tax*

At the outbreak of war Mr. Lloyd George, then chancellor of the exchequer,

* The income tax of the United Kingdom stated more in detail is as follows: The general exemption was reduced to incomes below £130. Relief of £120 is granted if income does not exceed £400; £100 if between £400 and £500, and £100 if between £500 and £600. An additional relief of £25 is granted for each child, provided the income of the recipient does not exceed £700. The rates are as follows:—(1) Earned incomes 11.25 per cent., where the total earned and unearned income does not exceed £500. The rate varies from 12.5 per cent. where the income is between £500 and £1,000, to 21.66 per cent. on incomes between £2,000 and £2,500. The tax is 25 per cent. on earned incomes above £2,500. (2) Unearned incomes pay three shillings in the pound where the total earned and unearned income does not exceed £300—that is the income under these conditions pays 15 per cent. Where the income is between £300 and £500 the tax is 17.5 per cent. and increases until it reaches 25 per cent. on all incomes above £2,000. An additional duty of 10 per cent. is levied in respect to income from securities that are desired by the chancellor for credit purposes. (3) Super-tax. Where the total exceeds £3,000, the super-tax is levied; on the excess over £2,500 the rate is 4.16 per cent. for the first £500 of excess. The super-tax steadily increases until it reaches 17.5 per cent. on incomes of £10,000. Soldiers may claim a reduction of their income tax in respect to their pay.

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doubled the British income tax at one stroke, thus demonstrating its wonderful elasticity and ability to produce revenue at a time of crisis. When Mr. McKenna succeeded Lloyd George in that position, he added 40 per cent. to the income tax and reduced exempt incomes from £160 to £130. In addition, the super-tax on all incomes above £8,000 was increased from 6 to 30 per cent. The result of all this was the taking of 20 per cent. of a person's income up to £5,000 and of 25 per cent. of incomes up to £10,000, and 34 per cent. of incomes up to £100,000. The new taxes derived from this source were sufficient to pay the interest charges on a colossal war debt and to provide in addition for an adequate sinking fund.

It is interesting to observe, in this connection, that the British income tax yields revenue to the state directly from the source; that is to say, the tax is paid by employers and corporations before incomes, salaries and dividends are disbursed. On the other hand, Prussia has adopted a quite different plan. That state uses the so-called "lump-sum" method, taxing all incomes alike, whether derived from earnings or from investments, but taxing the latter at a heavier rate through the imposition of a super-tax on property. Although the methods are different, the results are practically identical, inasmuch as the graduated, progressive form of taxation is followed. North Carolina, Italy, Holland and some of the Australasian states follow the English model.

The federal income tax of the United States is beginning to play an important role in that country's fiscal program, although it has been in use for only a few years. In 1914 this tax yielded \$28,253,534; in 1915, \$41,046,162; and in 1916, \$67,943,594—an increase for the two years of approximately 140 per cent. Notwithstanding the bitter assaults made on the income tax in the republic by men of great wealth, it has yielded exceptionally good results. The law was amended in March, 1917, making its main provisions as follows:

The same minimum of \$3,000 for unmarried persons and a further exemption of \$1,000 for married persons living together was maintained, with the addition that under the new law the head of the family is also entitled to an extra \$1,000 exemption. The tax begins, on this basis, at \$5,000, subject to the exemptions noted. The normal tax on incomes in excess of \$4,000 is now 2 per cent., against 1 per cent. under the old law, and where the surtax formerly ranged from 1 to 6 per cent. it now ranges from 1 to 13 per cent. It will thus be seen that the American income tax makes use of the principle of progression, the tax increasing as the income grows. Notwithstanding the fact that the separate states also impose income taxes and that the imposition of the federal tax thus makes for double taxation, most authorities agree that that

substantial justice to all classes in the community has been done.*

In view of the fact that the United States has served as a model for Canadian fiscal measures, it would seem that Sir Thomas White has little or no excuse for refusing longer to put the personal income tax, as well as the property income tax, into execution as an integral part of the country's financial policy. Particularly is the plea, that such a tax in Canada would mean double taxation, invalid, in view of the fact that the United States has been compelled to face, and solve, the same problem. As we have shown, the tax is elastic; it is admirably suited to raise revenue in a period of emergency; it adjusts the fiscal burden in proportion to ability to pay; and it is a direct tax whose source and purpose are easily understood. For these reasons we are convinced that the time is opportune for the imposition of a sharply graduated, progressive income tax in Canada, due allowance being made for those of our people who are receiving but a living wage, income or salary.

* * *

A Graduated Inheritance Tax

Canada has lagged far behind the progressive nations of the world in its general scheme of taxation, and notably in connection with the imposition of a heavily graduated inheritance tax on large estates. This tax has been in operation for many years in the several Aus-

* It should be observed that in addition to the personal income tax the United States has a corporation income tax which yielded in the years 1913-1916 the following sums respectively: \$35,006,799; \$43,127,739; and \$56,993,657.

The income tax recommended by the House Committee of the United States Congress, recommended the following income taxes. These were accepted by the house with the exception that all incomes over \$40,000 had the rate of taxation increased by 25 per cent. above the rates recommended by the committee.

Income	Per cent.	Income	Per cent.
\$ 7,500.....	2.72	\$100,000.....	14.18
10,000.....	3.55	150,000.....	18.12
12,500.....	4.24	200,000.....	21.00
15,000.....	4.86	250,000.....	23.87
20,000.....	5.90	300,000.....	26.40
40,000.....	8.45	500,000.....	33.93
60,000.....	10.30	1,000,000.....	40.01
80,000.....	12.22		

NOTE.—Since the above was written the government has announced through Sir George Foster that federal income taxes will be imposed in this country, but details of the measure are not, at the time of writing, available.

tralian states, in New Zealand, in the United Kingdom, in Prussia and, for the last few years, in the United States as well. The Canadian Council of Agriculture holds strongly to the opinion that provision should be made immediately for the instituting of such a tax by the federal government in Canada, for reasons which we shall now consider.

The estates tax raises an essential problem of modern democracy, namely, the relation of inherited wealth to public welfare, and the duties and obligations of those who have amassed fortunes through the protection and opportunities afforded by the state itself. It is hardly necessary to emphasize the fact that Canadian soldiers on the battle line in Flanders and France are laying down their lives for the protection of the lives and property of those at home. A man who gives his life, gives his all, and it cannot be said, therefore, that the bearing of ordinary taxation in Canada restores the balance. Even if it did, a percentage of our soldiers who, during these past three years of war have drawn not even the daily wage of a laborer at home, will return after the struggle to bear their share of taxation also. It is the merest justice, therefore, that great wealth should seek to restore the equilibrium by heavy sacrifices of property for the benefit of the state, under whose protection it was amassed.

Many men of wealth owe their all to franchises granted them by the state, franchises that have given them the power to collect the unearned increment created by the community at large. From this point of view it may be said that there is a sort of co-partnership existing between captains of industry and the government, under which the people at large should share in the wealth thereby created. From this standpoint the state merely takes by legal action, from the estate of the deceased, what it is entitled to in equity.

The cost of service rendered to a great corporation, through government protection of its interests and property, is hardly paid for by ordinary taxation, and, therefore, the state is quite justified in taking a share of this wealth, at the death of its owners, for its own use. Moreover, it is impossible to conceive of a truly democratic state where great wealth and poverty exist side by side.

It is in the interests of a real commonwealth to diffuse great fortunes, to break them up, to smooth class distinctions based on wealth, and to place the whole people on the footing of equal opportunity. But this cannot be done unless the colossal fortunes that are characteristic of the United States and Canada today are broken up through inheritance taxation. It is quite clear, also, that the recipient of an inheritance which suddenly gives him great wealth, receives it not from his own merit, but simply by accident—the accident of birth or otherwise. In a very real sense, also, an estates tax may be considered justly to take the place of a heavy income tax which should have been paid during the life-time of the possessor of the property, but which was not, else the large fortune would not have been built up within a few years covering the ordinary span of life.

It is because of some, or all, of these reasons that many great modern states have thought it wise to impose a tax on large inheritances. It is a tax, moreover, that lends itself readily to the principle of progression and of ability to pay. The British Budget of 1909 laid the following taxes upon inherited estates—a tax upon the estate as a whole and separate taxes in addition upon the shares going to the various recipients:

£	£	Per cent.
100 to	500	1
500 to	1,000	2
1,000 to	5,000	3
5,000 to	10,000	4
10,000 to	20,000	5
20,000 to	40,000	6
40,000 to	70,000	7
70,000 to	100,000	8
100,000 to	150,000	9
150,000 to	200,000	10
200,000 to	400,000	11
400,000 to	600,000	12
600,000 to	800,000	13
800,000 to	1,000,000	14
1,000,000 and over		15

The estate duties in the United Kingdom have yielded the following sums, during the last four years:

Year	£
1913-14	27,165,122
August 1, 1914 to March 31, 1915.	18,170,570
1915-16	30,937,982
1916-17	31,232,000

By the act of March 3, 1917, federal taxes on inherited estates in the United States were imposed as follows: The

sum of \$50,000 is exempt in every case. The rates are: 1.5 per cent. on taxable inheritances of \$50,000 or less; 3 per cent. on sums ranging between \$50,000 and \$150,000; 4.5 per cent. on \$150,000-\$250,000; 6 per cent. on \$250,000-\$450,000; 7.5 per cent. on \$450,000-\$1,000,000; 9 per cent. on \$1,000,000-\$2,000,000; 10.5 per cent. on \$2,000,000-\$3,000,000; 12 per cent. on \$3,000,000-\$4,000,000; 13.5 per cent. on \$4,000,000-\$5,000,000; and 15 per cent. on amounts in excess of \$5,000,000.

In view of what has been said, therefore, and the example set by the two greatest world democracies, it is earnestly recommended that a sharply graduated inheritance tax be instituted in our own country. The fact that the provinces already impose such taxes need not interfere with a federal tax on the same source of revenue. But taxes can be levied in equity.

* * *

A Graduated Income Tax on the Profits of Corporations

In view of the enormous burden of ordinary and war taxation laid on the Canadian people, it is imperative that, in addition to the sources of revenue already mentioned, the great reservoir of capital held by the few in this country be tapped. This leads us to consider the value of the excess profits tax as a means of raising revenue.

It is instructive to observe what the United Kingdom has accomplished through taxation in this, as well as in other respects, since the outbreak of hostilities. Although Great Britain has not been able to do as well, relatively, as she did in the Napoleonic wars, when 40 per cent. of her expenditures were met by taxation, she has, nevertheless, succeeded better than any other of the belligerent nations in paying for the war out of current income. The United Kingdom is deriving an income from taxation that exceeds very greatly the tax revenue of any other belligerent country. The revenue from the income tax has more than quadrupled since 1913-1914. The receipts from the income tax in 1916-1917 alone exceed the total tax revenue during the normal year 1913-1914, and, when the income tax is combined with the excess profits duty, the total is greater than the entire income from taxation during the years

1915-1916. In 1913 the total receipts were £198,323,444, and in 1916-1917 (up to March 17, 1917) they were £573,427,582, an increase of £375,104,138. To this increase the income tax contributed £157,792,230 or 42 per cent. of the sum, and the excess profits duty £139,920,000 or 37.3 per cent.—together 79.3 per cent. of the total increase in revenue since 1913-1914. Since the outbreak of hostilities Great Britain spent up to March 31, 1917, £4,255,631,067 and raised by taxation £1,081,935,388. The chancellor of the exchequer expects that the revenue for the fiscal year 1917-1818 will amount to £638,000,000, and the expenditures to £2,290,381,000, including advances of £400,000,000 to the Allies and British Dominions. It should not be overlooked, in this connection, that Great Britain has not only taken care of her own finances up to the present, but has loaned as well \$5,000,000,000 to her Dominions and Allies.

The excess profits duty is levied in the United Kingdom as follows: £200 are exempt, and the standard is the average profits during any two years of the three years preceding 1914. If no pre-war standard is possible, 7 per cent. of the capital employed is taken as the base in the case of individuals, and 6 per cent. in the case of corporations—that is to say these percentages of profits are exempt from any tax, and the excess only is subjected to taxation. The tax has recently been raised from 60 to 80 per cent.

Otto Kuhn, of Kuhn, Loeb and Company, New York, estimates that for the year 1917 there will be a war-stimulated point, in excess of the average profit of the past three years, in the United States, amounting to \$2,000,000,000. The United States, however, is not relying to anything like the same extent that the United Kingdom is, upon the excess profits tax to provide the necessary revenue for carrying on the war. The following is, in brief outline, the scheme of taxation applying to corporations and partnership in the United States:

1.—Excess profits tax. Every corporation or partnership must pay a tax of 8 per cent. on the amount by which its net income from all sources exceeds (a) \$5,000 and (b) 8 per cent. of the capital invested and employed in the business.

2.—Munition manufacturers' tax. A tax of 12.5 per cent. is levied on the net profits derived from the manufacture of gun-powder, cartridges, projectiles, firearms, electric motor boats, etc.

3.—Capital stock tax. A tax is imposed amounting to 50 cents for every \$1,000 of the face value of the capital stock of any enterprise, including the surplus and undivided profits. The sum of \$99,000 is exempt.

Turning to Canada, we find that the total revenue for the fiscal year ending March, 31, 1917, was \$228,217,270. Of this the tariff contributed \$133,531,155 or 58.33 per cent.; the excise \$24,253,632 or 10.52 per cent.; railways, canals, etc., \$20,031,627 or 8.77 per cent.; and the excess profits tax \$14,552,383 or 6.58 per cent. It will be seen, therefore, from a study of these figures that the tariff and the excise were the main revenue producers in the Dominion during the past fiscal year, and that those industries that have amassed fortunes through the nation's military needs have contributed an exceedingly small part of the total revenue. In other words, the artisans and farmers of this country are bending their backs to the burden of war, while the vested interests and the profiteers escape lightly. The reader will recall by referring to the figures furnished above, in connection with the finances of the United Kingdom, that the reverse is precisely the case in Great Britain—there funded wealth and war profits bear the burden. It is not our purpose to refer at length to the profits made by the William Davies Company last year, since the figure of \$5,000,000 of profits alleged to have been made by this company on bacon alone has been challenged. At the same time these and other revelations have aroused the Canadian people to the seriousness of the situation, and they demand, and demand rightly, that wealth as well as labor shall bear its just proportion of the cost of the present struggle.

The excess profits tax in Canada, on companies having a capitalization of \$50,000 or more, is as follows: Profits of less than 7 per cent. are exempt from taxation entirely. On all profits between 7-15 per cent. the tax is 25 per cent., between 15-20 per cent. the tax is 50 per cent., and on all profits 20 per cent. and over the tax is 75 per cent. To make

this clear to the reader we may offer the following illustrations:

A company capitalized at \$100,000 makes \$25,000. It will then be taxed as follows:

Rate of Profit	Amount of Profit	Rate of Tax	Amount of Tax
Up to 7 per cent.	\$7,000	.....	.....
8-15 per cent.	8,000	25 p.c.	\$2,000
16-20 per cent.	5,000	50 p.c.	2,500
21-25 per cent.	5,000	75 p.c.	3,750
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	\$25,000		\$8,250

The government has recently announced that it is determined to make wealth bear its fair share of the war burden, and in that case it is to be hoped that a larger proportion of the profits due to war conditions will be secured to meet the needs of the nation.

The Nationalization of Railways, Telegraph and Express Companies

The Canadian Council of Agriculture is convinced that for the good of the Commonwealth and in the interests of economic freedom and justice, all railways, telegraph and express companies in the country should be taken over by the government and operated by it on behalf of the people. It is not necessary to emphasize the fact that the railway situation, in particular, is full of menace to the permanent prosperity of Canada. That the government itself is fully seized of the importance of this question is evident from the fact that it appointed a special commission to investigate the whole railway problem, and that the report brought down by the commissioners suggests radical changes in the ownership and operation of the private railroads of the Dominion.

The council demands the organization of the entire railway system of Canada for many reasons, which will be made clear as the discussion proceeds, but more particularly because of the example set in this regard by many of the most progressive nations in the world. In 1913—the year that furnishes the most recent data on this problem—there were in the whole world some 690,133 miles of railway. Of this, 33 per cent. or 225,712 miles were owned by various governments. Outside of North America there were in the same year 385,000 miles of railway, and of this, 211,147 miles or 55 per cent. were owned by governments, and 147,000

miles or 45 per cent. owned by private corporations.

According to recent information secured from articles published by Mr. E. B. Biggar, 51 out of 65 countries in the world own or operate their railroads. Of important nations in the world Canada and the United States alone have committed themselves, up to the present, to private ownership of railways. Belgium, it is interesting to note, has been the only country that, from the beginning, has owned and operated its entire railway system. On the other hand, government ownership obtains in the most diverse countries, and among the most diverse peoples. Turkey and Russia, Switzerland and Austria, Germany and Australia own and operate their own railways. In fact, all the great British Dominions — aside from Canada — and India, as well, operate their railroads through government ownership and control, and out of 17 crown colonies and protectorates in the British Empire, 12 have government ownership of railways. These countries and colonies are among the most highly developed and civilized in the world and have not adopted government ownership through lack of private enterprise. On the contrary, they have been intelligent and resourceful enough to realize that railways, like highways, should be owned, operated and controlled in the interests of the whole people, and not as a source of private gain. They have seen through the sham contention that competition is all-essential for efficient railway administration and have learned that railroads are, in fact, natural monopolies. And if monopolies, the unearned increment that increases income and piles up wealth with growth of population and industrial development, should be appropriated for the use of the state and not for the enrichment of a particular class in the community.

The British System

The United Kingdom was, up to the outbreak of war, the last great nation in Europe in which private ownership of railways obtained. But many years before, during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, plans had been formulated for the taking over of the entire railway system of the United Kingdom in the event of war. Immediately upon the

outbreak of hostilities, the government stepped in and took over the railways of Wales, Scotland and England, and a little later those of Ireland. According to Mr. W. M. Aeworth, a British expert on railway transportation, government control has met with striking success, and it is scarcely conceivable that the nation will permit private corporations to enter upon possession of the railroads at the conclusion of the war. The plan under which the traffic of England is being conducted has these essentials:

- 1.—Operation of all the railroads as a single system is vested in a committee of railway officials.
- 2.—The government makes no payment for the transportation of supplies or troops.
- 3.—Munitions and soldiers have the right of way over all other traffic.
- 4.—All other business is charged for at regular, uniform rates.
- 5.—The government guarantees to make a settlement at the end of the war by which each road will receive for the period of the war a yearly revenue equal to the earnings of 1913.
- 6.—The government takes over all surplus revenues of the roads and finances current expenses.

It is important to note that politics has played no part whatever in the management of the railways since the government assumed control. The chief argument, therefore, against government ownership of railways in the United Kingdom, so insistently presented by corporate interests before the war, has been found to have no validity whatever. Railroad men and not politicians run the roads, and run them with the utmost efficiency. All the carriers are operated under one system managed by an executive committee, constituted of the general managers of the various rail-

ways. In truth, no other nation in the world has even approximated to the efficiency and wonderful organization which the British government has shown in taking care of the traffic requirements of the United Kingdom.

Mr. Aeworth describes the financial working out of the English railway scheme as follows:

"All government traffic, whether passenger or freight is carried for nothing and no accounts are kept. A warrant from the proper military authority ordering a certain movement is the only document required. This obviates an immense amount of bookkeeping for the government and for the railroad.

"As between themselves each company keeps the whole of its receipts from ordinary business, whether the traffic is paid for at the point of origin or at the point of destination..... The result of this is that the actual receipts of some companies are very greatly increased as compared with normal, while the receipts of other companies may be correspondingly diminished..... Each company keeps a running account with the executive committee. If it is accumulating money beyond what it needs for working expenses and the guaranteed net revenue, the committee will instruct it to pay over whatever sum they require to any other railroad whose receipts are falling short of what is necessary for these purposes."

Mr. Aeworth—and be it remembered that he is one of the ablest of Britain's traffic experts—estimates that under this plan the government at one and the same time eliminates all transportation costs to itself, while it secures operation of the roads at the point of highest efficiency. What a contrast to the methods followed in Canada! And yet we are told that government ownership or control of transportation is always costly to the people, always wasteful and always inefficient!

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Intercolonial Not a Failure

Turning directly to the railway situation in Canada, we find that one of the chief, if not the most telling, arguments of the opponents of government ownership to be alleged failure of the Intercolonial as a public enterprise. It is steeped in corruption, inefficiently managed, debauched by politics, looted of its necessary revenue for the benefit of the people of the Maritime Provinces—if its ill-wishers and detractors are to be believed. And yet Mr. J. L. Payne, of the department of railways and canals, and one time an employee of this road, tells us in a recent article in the *Railway Age*, Chicago, that he knows by experience that the road is less subject to political interference than is frequently charged; that the usual charges that it is used for corrupt purposes, at election times, are practically without foundation; and that, all statements to the contrary notwithstanding, it is efficiently managed and operated. True, very low rates both for freight and passenger service have been charged the people of the eastern provinces; but that policy is part of the inherent understanding arrived at between the several provinces at the time of Confederation. This policy was inaugurated partly as an offset against that obtaining in Upper Canada, where no attempt has been made to charge the people anything approximating to even the interest on the huge sum of \$100,000,000—the cost of the canals there. In fact, the government operates the canals today practically free of charge, and yet their cost is borne by the whole of Canada. For that, and other reasons as well, the people of the Maritime Provinces consider that they are entitled to low traffic rates.

Mr. Payne deals with this problem in an illuminating manner in reply to an attack made by Mr. S. O. Dunn, editor of *The Railway Age Gazette*, on the finances of the Intercolonial. Mr. Dunn demonstrated that the Intercolonial has never earned interest upon its capital cost and sometimes not even operating expenses, and contrasted the Intercolonial's earnings with those of the Canadian Pacific. Mr. Payne replies to the effect that if the Canadian Pacific had charged the same low rates as the Intercolonial, it would long since have passed

into the hands of a receiver. He makes an exhaustive analysis, further, of the passenger and freight receipts of the two roads for the year 1913, the last normal year before the outbreak of war, and finds that the passenger-mile rate of the Canadian Pacific was 22.6 per cent. and the ton-mile 37.5 per cent. higher than the corresponding rates of the Intercolonial. If these rates had been transposed and the Intercolonial had had the advantage, the Canadian Pacific would have earned \$24,051,716 less, and the Intercolonial \$3,010,784 more during 1913. That low rates have been the cause of the Intercolonial's difficulties is made abundantly clear by the fact that, with slight increase in rates only, the railway earned a surplus of \$2,000,000 in the fiscal year 1915-1916 and about \$1,500,000 for 1916-1917. And finally it may be said that the revenue test is a poor one to decide the question of the validity and justice of government ownership, in view of the fact that a considerable percentage of the privately owned roads of the United States are in the hands of the receiver.

Corruption and Private Ownership

As for corruption and political interference, the public life of Canada has been debauched by privately owned railroads. Surely the memory of the people is not so short that they cannot recall the interference of Canadian railroads in the reciprocity campaign of 1911. It was mainly through their influence that that measure was defeated. Their lobbying at Ottawa, both past and present, smells to heaven. Their periodic raids on the public treasury constitute a standing menace to the well-being of the nation. In land grants, in cash subsidies and in guarantees they have received more than half the entire cost of all the railroads in this country, and yet their insatiable appetite is not appeased. It well behooves them, therefore, to speak lightly of graft, corruption, inefficiency and political interference.

In view of the fact that the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk Pacific are in financial difficulties, and in view of the further fact that they will require substantial aid from the Dominion treasury to prevent their going into liquidation, the problem of nationalizing not only these roads, but the entire railway

system of Canada becomes of immediate and pressing importance. Mr. E. B. Biggar, whose illuminating articles on the Canadian railway situation have been already referred to, has set forth succinctly the relation of the railway to the state somewhat as follows:

- 1.—The railways of a country are its main highways and therefore should not pass out of the control of the people.
- 2.—There is no source of revenue for a railway other than the rates imposed for carrying persons and goods.
- 3.—This revenue is raised, not from any hidden fountain of wealth within the railway itself, but from the proceeds derived from the economic activities of the entire people.
- 4.—By the division of labor in the modern State everyone who earns and spends money contributes to the cost of railway service, and this cost enters into practically every article used by the people.
- 5.—The maintenance of a nation's means of communication is a function of sovereignty, which should not be permitted to be exercised by private individuals for their own benefit.
- 6.—Since all the people contribute to the cost of railway service, railway rates become essentially a national tax. And in all highly developed countries, railway rates make up the largest element in taxation. It is of fundamental importance that the people should retain control of the machinery through which they are subject to taxation.

Recurrent deficits in the operation of the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk Pacific have brought about an intolerable condition of affairs, inasmuch as the people at large are taxed to make these good. It is freely admitted that it is impossible to permit these roads to go into the hands of the receiver, because of the staggering blow that would be dealt thereby to Canadian credit. On the other hand, if the nation must make these deficits good, it should in justice have control of the roads. This has been recognized in a left-handed manner by the Canadian Northern which has made the Canadian government a junior partner in the enterprise, by handing over to it 40 per cent. of the outstanding common stock. Nevertheless, Mackenzie and Mann took good care that the control of the road should not slip through their hands. The government has the satisfaction of making deficits good, in return for the right to play a minor role in the enterprise. On the other hand, the sit-

uation is almost as equally unsatisfactory in the case of the Canadian Pacific, the most powerful as well as the most successful railroad in the world. Canadians are supposed to jubilate when its huge annual earnings are made known, and surplus earnings are carried over to reserve. The fact is, that few persons sufficiently realize that excess earnings are merely a super-tax wrung from the necessities of the nation. There is no reason why a railroad should build up a surplus over cost capital, depreciation, upkeep, repairs and betterments than that the government, by excessive taxes, should accumulate a fund of capital to make a conspicuous display of the country's wealth and prosperity. It should never be lost sight of that railway rates are in reality taxes—taxes paid for particular services rendered, but taxes nevertheless.

What the People Have Paid

It is said of course by opponents of government ownership that the railways of the United States and Canada have the lowest freight rates in the world, although it is admitted that passenger rates, especially in this country, are high as compared with those obtaining in Europe. But while the ton-mile rate is low compared with ton-mile rates on railroads in Europe, Australia and New Zealand, it must not be forgotten that the length of haul on this continent is very great and hence traffic rates high. It does not need detailed discussion to demonstrate that freight rates weigh heavily upon the Canadian West especially, and that they are an important factor in the high cost of production in agriculture and in other pursuits. When it is realized, also, to what an extent the Canadian people have assisted privately owned railroads, the wonder is, not that the ton-mile comparison is relatively favorable, but that the people of Canada are compelled to carry in sum total such a crushing burden of freight and passenger rates. The following table shows the aid given Canadian railways by means of cash subsidies, land grants and guarantees:

	Subsidies	Proceeds of Land Sold	Loans out- standing or Investment	Guarantees outstanding	Total
Canadian Northern . .	\$ 38,874,148	\$ 34,379,809	\$ 25,858,166	\$199,141,140	\$298,253,263
Canadian Pacific . .	104,690,801	128,810,124	.....	.....	228,500,295
Grand Trunk Railway	13,003,060	.....	15,142,633	.....	28,145,693
Grand Trunk Pacific	726,320	.....	70,311,716	43,432,848	114,470,884
Grand Trunk Pacific, Branch Lines . .	.....	.....	.....	13,469,004	13,469,004
Nat'l Transcontinental	.....	.....	159,881,197	.....	159,881,197
Intercolonial . .	.....	.....	116,234,204	.....	116,234,204
Prince Edward Island	.....	.....	9,496,567	.....	9,496,567
Total . . .	\$157,294,329	\$158,189,933	\$396,924,483	\$256,042,992	\$968,451,737

This enormous total amounts to more than one-half of the book value of all Canadian roads and their equipment, although in the book value are included millions of dollars for stock from which nothing was received by the roads. In addition to the sums mentioned in the table above, it must not be forgotten that both the Canadian Northern and the Canadian Pacific have still millions of acres of land unsold, representing millions of dollars according to their own calculation. If the Canadian people, therefore, are required to furnish additional capital and to assume further bond obligations, they would be well advised to assume the ownership of the railways themselves.

Report of Royal Commission

In the recent report presented to parliament on the Canadian railway situation, Sir Henry Drayton and Mr. Aeworth advised that henceforth there shall be in Canada only two railway systems, the one consisting of the Canadian Pacific under its present management and control, and the other made up of the present government railways, the Grand Trunk System, including the Grand Trunk Pacific, and the Canadian Northern. Mr. A. H. Smith, the other commissioner, reports in favor of continuing the present system of private ownership of railways in Canada, but handing over the western field to the Canadian Northern, and the eastern to the Grand Trunk, leaving the Canadian Pacific alone. It is impossible, in the space available, to go into all details of the scheme outlined by the majority of the commissioners. It must suffice to say that Sir Henry Drayton and Mr. Aeworth recommend that a company, to be known as The Dominion Railway Company, shall be chartered by parliament to take over and manage in behalf of the people

of Canada all Canadian railways, with the exception of the Canadian Pacific. This company would be managed by five trustees, to be appointed by the Act of Parliament which incorporated the company. It is recommended that three of them be men of railway experience, that the fourth be a man with large experience in dealing with labor, and that the fifth be selected on the basis of wide financial experience. To give the trustees control of the railways, the commissioners advise that the Intercolonial and National Transcontinental be transferred to them by Act of Parliament, and that the \$40,000,000 of common stock of the Canadian Northern, now vested in the Canadian government, and also the \$60,000,000 still remaining in the hands of private persons, be transferred to them. They advocate also that the whole of the common stock of the Grand Trunk Pacific shall be transferred to the trustees without any payment therefor, except in refunding the cash paid for shares other than those held by the Grand Trunk Railway Coompany. They recommend further that the whole of the stock of the Grand Trunk Railway, first, second and third preferences and ordinary, shall be handed over to the trustees. The commissioners do not believe that Mackenzie and Mann have any claim, as of right, to compensation for their holdings—the greater part—of the \$60,000,000 of common stock outstanding. They suggest, however, that they may be permitted to hold part of the stock in order that their equity, such as it is, may be protected. They propose that the amounts so retained, and the future dividends thereon, be determined by arbitration. The Commissioners are of the opinion that the share capital of the Grand Trunk Railway is intrinsically of small value; but nevertheless they recommend that the shareholders be of

ferred an annuity therefor, equivalent to the average dividend payment for the last ten years, but subject to increase after seven years.

Under this plan all the Canadian railways comprised in the scheme would be subject to the supervision of the Dominion Railway Board, just as the Canadian Pacific is, and will be. In addition, it is expected that the roads will be operated, under the company, free from political control. In fact, the commissioners make much of this point, and frankly state that while democratic government is good to meet the general needs of the people, it is untrustworthy as far as railway management, ownership and control are concerned.

With all this the Canadian Council of Agriculture entirely and emphatically disagrees. It believes in government of the people, for the people, and by the people. It proclaims its wholehearted faith in democracy and in democratic principles. It is convinced that the people through their government not only should own the railroads, but control and operate them through its own service. Germany, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa have shown that it can be done, and what these states have accomplished the council is persuaded the people of Canada can do also.

The council believes that the general scheme for taking over the Grand Trunk system and the Canadian Northern is essentially just and equitable. But it believes also that the plan does not go far enough. The council is convinced that to ensure efficiency and success, financially and otherwise, the Canadian Pacific must also be owned by the people. True, some stand aghast at the thought of taking over this giant enterprise and weaken in their resolution when they reflect upon the hundreds of millions of dollars involved. Nevertheless, the council believes that the stock of the Canadian Pacific can be bought on some equitable plan—say at its average price over a period of years—and that the funds necessary for the purpose can be provided by issuing debentures on the credit of the railway and of the Dominion of Canada. As for the huge amount of bonds outstanding, not only on the Canadian Pacific, but on other railways, the people of Canada are already to a great extent committed to a

policy under which they are responsible ultimately for their payment. It must not be forgotten that it is necessary only to secure stock control—the bonds need not be purchased. Moreover, these bonds are valuable today only in so far as the people furnish the revenue to protect them, as to principal and interest, through the payment of freight and passenger rates. Under public ownership Canada would be required to do nothing more. As for the subsidiary enterprises of the Canadian Pacific—its lands, hotels, mines and steamships, etc.—these could be taken over and managed by the government or by private corporations, under just terms reached by common agreement.

* * *

The Nationalization of Telegraph and Express Companies

The Canadian Council of Agriculture is persuaded also that all telegraph and express companies in Canada should be nationalized and operated in the interests of the whole people. The prairie provinces already control and operate their main telephone lines, and these have been operated with conspicuous success, especially in Saskatchewan and Alberta. A great national utility such as the telegraph, whose receipts must expand with the growth of the country, should be operated for the benefit of the nation, and not for the profit of private corporations. The United Kingdom and other European states control their telegraph lines, which furnish a large revenue to their respective governments. The telegraph, indeed, is only second in importance to the postal service, and is a public utility whose services should be available to the people at low cost. Under government ownership it would be possible to eliminate waste and duplication and to offer more efficient service to the country at large.

The same holds true, in no less degree, of the express business in Canada. Here again income increases with growth of population, and increases at a rate entirely out of proportion to capital cost. This is evident from a glance at the history of the Canadian Pacific. The original investment in the Dominion Express Company was \$5,800, and an investigation conducted by the late Judge Mabee showed that this corporation had

been able to pay to the Canadian Pacific, out of its operations, no less than \$13,409,240 at a period when only \$24,500 in cash had been invested in the Express Company itself.

The Dominion Express Company now owns real estate and equipment valued at \$1,000,000, and has paid out, up to 1916, more than \$3,500,000 in dividends. The Canadian Pacific charged its subsidiary in 1915 \$3,234,715 for express privileges on its lines, which resulted in a net loss to the Dominion Express Company in that year of \$128,606—and this notwithstanding the fact that the gross receipts were \$6,220,542. This enormous business is carried on on an actual cash investment of \$24,500, the large assets having been built up by capitalizing a privilege. The same story might be repeated in the case of the Canadian Express Company and the telegraph monopolies in this country. And here, too, it may be pointed out in passing, is found one reason why the Intercolonial has not flourished as have the privately owned railroads, inasmuch as the express business in Canada is practically in the control of the two companies mentioned above. The Canadian Council of Agriculture believes that these, and all similar monopolies, should be owned and exploited in the interests of the Canadian people, to the end that not only rates and tolls may be reduced, but that the unearned increment may be secured for the reduction of general taxation.

* * *

Control of Natural Resources

The council recommends that no more natural resources be alienated from the Crown, but that these be brought into use only under short term leases, in which the interests of the public shall be properly safeguarded, and that such leases to be granted only by public auction. Unfortunately not only in the past, but in the present as well, natural resources are alienated by private agreements with the various governments, both provincial and federal. Timber limits are being sold in Ontario and elsewhere to private corporations without even observing the forms of public auction, and there is more than a suspicion that party interests have considerable weight in the transaction of this business. Of course

we are fully aware of the dishonesty and illegalities practiced at public auctions of natural resources in the past, but nevertheless we are convinced that manipulation and trickery can be eliminated if the government will resolutely adopt and put into practice the right methods. We insist that what is done, in disposing of natural resources, shall be done in the open, and that the interests of the nation shall be adequately safeguarded.

The same may be said of water powers, of coal mines, of mineral lands, of oil lands and the many other natural resources, as well as the huge tracts of the public domain that have been alienated from the crown by the subterfuges of private corporations in the past. Only recently the Ontario Hydro-Electric Commission was compelled to purchase at enormous cost the plant and water rights, at Niagara Falls, of a private corporation—property that in the first instance was alienated from the people for a mere trifle. The council believes that this question is of vital importance to the nation, and insists that, for the future, the natural resources of the people shall be conserved in their own interests. This is of imperative importance in the various matters mentioned above, but especially so in connection with the coal mines of the country. Canada may well learn here a lesson from New Zealand, whose government operates several large coal mines for the benefit of the people. In this way coal prices are regulated by the government output and coal is marketed at a price which yields only a fair profit on the capital invested. As a result coal barons are unknown in the Dominion of New Zealand, and the people secure one of the great necessities of life close to cost. Both in Canada and the United States millionaires have been made through exploiting resources that should have remained under the control of the people by means of leases or otherwise. Had that been done, oil, coal, electric power, lumber and other economic goods would have been produced for the people at reasonable rates, and would have yielded, through the unearned increment, an enormous return to the national revenues as well.

The Initiative, Referendum and Recall

The council believes that the time is opportune for the introduction into our national life of those practices that will bring government into closer and more intimate relationship with the people. It therefore advocates the adoption of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall as instruments of democracy, to achieve these objects. Although similar legislation has been passed in Oklahoma, Oregon and other western American states, it must not be thought that these expedients have not been tested by time. The reverse is, in truth, the fact. Some of the most enlightened and progressive of the ancient Greek republics used these instruments of democracy, and, as is well known, Switzerland has made successful use of the Referendum for many years. The council believes that the people should, under right conditions and with a sufficient number of votes, have the right to initiate legislation which will be taken up and passed by the government of the day. Only so will it be possible in many instances to make the will of the people prevail. Although the Referendum in a somewhat altered form—the plebiscite—has been used in this country in the past, notably in connection with temperance legislation, it has never been given a fair trial. We believe that the legislatures of Canada would be strengthened, rather than weakened, by their referring certain measures to the people for final approval, before such became law. Of course the council realizes that not all legislation could be so referred, with success, for popular approval—certainly not intricate financial measures which require investigation by experts. But broad measures of fiscal and political import might with the greatest advantage be referred to the people for approval. In this way the legislature and the nation would be kept in intimate and vital relationship with one another. And finally, the council is of the opinion that voters should have, as of right, the power to recall from public office, or from the legislature, men who have proved recreant to their trust, or who have lost public confidence. If such legislation be found, under the present B. N. A. Act, unconstitutional, the council advocates that the act be revised in

such a way as to bring these principles within the sphere of practical politics.

* * *

Publicity of Campaign Funds

The program of the Canadian Council of Agriculture contains a plank laying down the policy that all political campaign funds, as well as the names of contributors thereto, and the expenses incurred by candidates for the legislature, shall be made known to the public both before and after elections. It is not necessary to dwell long on this plank in our program, important as it is, since all realize how our polities have been corrupted in the past through the expenditure of vast sums of money at election times. If party campaign funds, both in amount and source, are, for the future, made known, the death-blow will have been dealt to the nefarious influence of big corporations and capitalists who have debauched Canadian public life in the past. The wholesale corruption which characterized the reciprocity campaign of 1911 would thus be rendered an impossibility for the future. It is of almost equal importance that the candidate himself shall be held to strict accountability for his election expenses, and that a minimum shall be imposed upon such expenditures, in order that corruption and undue influence may be prevented. In any event, the council believes that not only the source and the amount of campaign funds should be made known before the day of elections, but that a strict accounting should be made of all expenditures incurred on account of candidates and parties during the course of each and every election.

* * *

The Abolition of Patronage

Patronage has cursed the public life of Canada and the United States from the inception of popular government in these countries. Corrupt campaign contributions and the exercise of patronage privileges have, at times, reduced democracy in the municipal, provincial and federal spheres to the lowest level. A great step forward was taken both in Canada and the United States when the several Civil Service Acts were passed, placing certain positions outside of the

control of the party henchman. It is through the power of patronage, mainly, that party politics are corrupted. And it is through that same power that the ward "boss" and political "ring" obtain control of the party machine. Patronage and the party machine operate together—the one is indispensable to the other. And both corrupt and debauch the public life of the country and snatch control of the government from the hands of the people. The council strongly advocates, therefore, the abolition of patronage system and the filling of all public offices on the professional record, or business experience of the candidate, or by means of a competitive examination. That this can be done is evidenced by the fact that the United Kingdom, once as corrupt politically as any state could well be, has practically eliminated patronage by means of competitive examination and the applying of other tests to candidates for public office.

* * *

Autonomy and Liquor Legislation

The Council believes that full provincial autonomy in liquor legislation, including the manufacture, export and import of alcoholic beverages should be granted by the federal government; or, if that is not possible under the constitution, by an amendment to the B. N. A. Act. At present several provinces have adopted legislation making more or less for prohibition, but in the present confusion of the law it is not quite clear how far provincial legislatures may go in that direction. For example, the government of Saskatchewan has recently lost a test case against the Hudson's Bay Company, under which it was sought to determine whether the province had the right to prevent the exportation of liquors by companies carrying on business under a federal charter, within its boundaries. The council believes that if the people of any province vote for total prohibition they should thereby have the right to prevent the export, import or manufacture of liquor as far as that province is concerned. It is contended, indeed, that under the Doherty Act, whenever a province makes it a criminal offence to have, or to consume, liquor in one's home, it can prevent the importation of such into the province.

But this throws the onus entirely on the provincial legislature. The Canadian Council of Agriculture advocate that, to prevent any misunderstanding or misinterpretation of the law, the B. N. A. Act should be so amended as to give each provincial government the indisputable right to prevent traffic in, or the manufacture of, liquor within the province.

* * *

Extension of Federal Franchise to Women

It is not part of our present purpose to discuss the merits of extending the franchise to women, in the abstract that has already been settled, but we strongly hold to the opinion that whenever a province has given women the right to vote, that right should automatically permit them to exercise the federal franchise also. It does so in the United States, whenever a state gives women the right to vote. Recently the United Kingdom has extended the franchise to its women, under certain conditions, for national purposes. The council believes that women as a matter of mere justice should have the vote equally with men and under relatively the same conditions. It believes that women who have been given the provincial franchise should thereby, as of right, exercise the federal franchise as well. The obstacles in the way are slight and may easily be brushed aside if the federal government is earnest and sincere in the matter, especially when it is recalled that the provincial lists are used for federal elections. If women in times of peace have won the right to vote, they have doubly demonstrated their claims to that right since the outbreak of war, and the council believes that all fair-minded citizens will so recognize that right. It therefore demands that, without delay, the federal government extend the franchise to women in those provinces where they already exercise it as a provincial right.

APPENDIX

Pensions for Soldiers

Since the preparation of this pamphlet the Canadian Council of Agriculture has given consideration to a number of important problems arising out of the war, amongst them that of soldiers' pen-

sions. The findings of the council on this question, as arrived at on August 30th at a meeting held in Winnipeg, are set forth in the following memorandum:

It is freely recognized that it is the duty of the nation to make adequate provision for the comfortable maintenance of all disabled soldiers and dependents of those who have been killed or disabled and that full opportunity for a proper education must be assured the children of such men. Any such provision can discharge but a fraction of the debt which the nation owes to the men who have thus sacrificed on its behalf.

Under the present pension regulations a private soldier totally disabled and unable to perform any labor receives a maximum pension of \$40.00 per month. There is also an allowance of \$6.00 per month for each of his children. If the soldier is entirely helpless and requires attendance, the pension board may make for him an additional allowance of not more than \$250.00 per year. If a soldier is killed his widow (until remarriage) receives \$32.00 per month for herself and \$6.00 per month for each child. The aged father, mother grandparent or other person wholly dependent upon such deceased soldier receives \$24.00 per month.

We believe that these provisions are not adequate for the comfortable maintenance of disabled soldiers and dependents of those killed or disabled, and the education of their children, and that under them such men and their families would be in danger of being placed more or less under public or private charity. We therefore make the following recommendations:

- (a) That the total disability pension be raised to not less than \$60.00 per month in addition to the present provision for attendance.
- (b) That the wife and children or other dependents of a totally disabled soldier receive the same pension as in case of his death.
- (c) That the pension of disabled soldiers of Class 2 (loss of one hand and one foot, or of both feet, etc.) be 90 per cent. of total disability allowance.
- (d) That the pension board be given discretionary powers to increase the allowance provided for children when deemed necessary to insure proper care and education.

The council further places itself on record as favoring the principle of equality of pensions for officers and privates.

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The Problem of Unemployment After the War

Memoranda on the Prevention of Unemployment and the Necessity for the Revision of the Unemployment Insurance Acts.

The Problem of Unemployment After the War.

The following Memorandum on the Prevention of Unemployment has been prepared by the Advisory Committee on Unemployment, and the one dealing with Unemployment Insurance was submitted by the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organizations. After adoption by the Joint Committee indicated opposite, they are now published for the consideration of the whole Trade Union and Labor Movement.

The Prevention of Unemployment.

1. Even taking an optimistic view as to the state of trade after the war, and as to a prompt resumption of productive industry, there must inevitably be, unless concerted action is taken to prevent it, considerable unemployment after the conclusion of the war, owing (a) to the instantaneous discharge of a large number of workers, such as munition workers; (b) to the interval necessary to reconvert munition works to civil production; (c) to the immediate slumps to be expected in munition centres, ports now temporarily congested by the diversion of traffic, areas in which substitute trades are carried on; (d) to the inevitable difficulties in demobilization; and (e) to the difficulties in providing adequate industrial capital, etc. On anything less than a very optimistic view the amount of temporary unemployment will be, in the aggregate, very great, and some of it will be considerably prolonged.

2. It is accordingly necessary that the Government should have settled, in advance, a systematic plan for dealing with the unemployment that is threatened—rather than wait until it occurs and then meet it by charitable doles and other emergency relief measures.

3. The Government plan ought to include measures for preventing the occurrence of unemployment, as far as

this may be practicable, as well as measures for providing for the victims of unemployment when it occurs.

4. The first measure of prevention should take the form of a concerted attempt to maintain at an approximately uniform level the national aggregate demand for labor, by controlling the giving out of orders by Government Departments and local authorities, in such a way as to make them vary inversely with the demands of private employers. Thus, the Employment Department of the Board of Trade can estimate, month by month, approximately whether the wages paid by private employers amount, in the aggregate, to a rate per annum of 900 or 1,000 millions sterling. It is, therefore, suggested that the National Departments and the local authorities should give out their own orders for non-urgent works and supplies at such a rate as to keep the local national demand for labor fairly level.

It may be observed that the Government accepted this policy in principle at the outbreak of war, both in the Local Government Board Circulars and in the proposed special housing policy; and it is believed that the Government is prepared to adopt similar measures after the war, without, however, undertaking to find as much work as may be required. The Local Government Board has already asked local authorities to report what works will or can be put in hand, if required, and has intimated that it will be ready to make grants and loans for housing schemes on a very large scale.

Among the works that could be put in hand are:—

(a) Housing schemes, to the extent of many million pounds (it is estimated that 200 millions will hardly meet the need for houses).

(b) Other works of local improvement, water supply, drainage, parks, etc.

(c) Educational expenditure to make up three years' leeway, includ-

ing improvements, new buildings, equipment, books and apparatus; the intake of teachers to be raised up to 20,000; maintenance and secondary scholarships.

(d) Public library developments which have been suspended since the beginning of the war.

(e) Government printing which has been postponed during the war.

(f) Works under the charge of the Development Commission and the Road Board which have been planned to the extent of millions sterling, e.g., new roads, harbours, light railways, public buildings, reclamation of foreshores, held up owing to the war.

(g) The development of agricultural and rural industries on a national co-operative basis, including schemes that will secure the maximum production of home-grown cereals, small holdings, dairy and poultry farms, etc.; and facilities for the greater use of agricultural machinery and the application of scientific methods to farming.

(h) Extensive schemes of afforestation to replant where trees have been removed during the war and to cover other areas suitable for timber growing.

If the Government could keep the wage-earners in the large industries steadily employed the effect would be to maintain a steady national demand for all forms of other labor. It is also of particular importance that the Government should encourage works, the product of which, like bricks and cement, for instance, are necessary for the carrying on of other work; in this case, building. Delays in the resumption of many industries can be avoided by a hurrying forward of manufactured supplies which are in a sense the raw materials of such industries.

It may be urged that no such action would keep up the demand of other countries for our products, and thus the export trades might fall off. It may be assumed, however, that the principal export trades will certainly be busy (coal, machinery, shipbuilding, constructional iron and steel, and all woollen goods); and the home demand for cotton goods is also expected to be brisk.

5. It is imperative that the local authorities should be enabled to acquire land

begin undertakings with much less delay than at present, when most important works involve Private Bill legislation, which can be initiated only in November of each year, and interposes a period of at least a year; and often of two years, between the decision to build and the beginning of the building. The Government should, therefore, be pressed to promote legislation giving local authorities much more summary powers to acquire land and commence work. As it has been found necessary to devolve considerable powers to local authorities to increase the food supply of the nation during the war, it will be equally essential to empower local governing bodies to proceed with the provision of housing accommodation and other social necessities when hostilities cease.

6. As the Government will, before the end of the war, have nearly 200 national factories in its possession, which have been purchased, erected, and equipped in the highest grade of efficiency out of State funds, these should be retained by the Government and used for national purposes.

7. The staffs now employed directly by the Government in dockyards, arsenals, and factories should not be reduced at once, but a systematic plan of short time with full wages should be introduced for a certain limited period during which the final readjustment of the necessary labor is taking place.

8. As unemployment is specially likely to occur among young persons, of whom several hundred thousand will be discharged from the national factories, the controlled establishments, and other works engaged on war orders, this fact makes the time specially opportune for certain pressing educational reforms which would tend to prevent an over-stocked labor market, such as:—

(a) Abolition of all employment under the normal school leaving age (including partial exemption, labor certificates, etc.).

(b) Raising the school leaving age to 16.

(c) Part-time employment for young people hereafter reaching the ages of 16, 17, and 18; no young person under 18 to be employed for more than 30 hours per week, the balance of the normal working week to be

devoted to physical, technical, and general educational training.

(d) Increasing the number of scholars taken into the scheme of preparation for school teachers up to, say, 20,000 a year, together with the necessary training college accommodation, so as to enable all the schools to be fully staffed with trained and certificated teachers within a definite number of years.

(e) Increasing the number of bursaries to the secondary schools, universities, and technical colleges.

9. As very drastic workshop reorganization will undoubtedly be resorted to after the war, overtime and excessive hours of labor should be prohibited from the very commencement of the peace period. An eight-hour day should be imposed by Act of Parliament.

10. It must, however, be insisted that, whatever is undertaken for the prevention of unemployment, there will always remain the necessity of systematic provision for the victims of the unemployment that we fail to prevent, whether this is due to the exceptional circumstances of particular trades, localities, seasons, or individuals; and that whilst hardly anything can be socially so injurious as leaving these cases to be dealt with by charitable doles or emergency relief works, public opinion will emphatically condemn the relegation of the unemployed soldiers, who will inevitably constitute a large and a specially conspicuous element in any accumulation of the unemployed, to the tender mercies of the Poor Law, or even of the Distress under the Unemployed Workmen Act. Some more suitable and less objectionable provision for the unemployed must now be found.

11. Where work cannot be found there must be maintenance apart from the Poor Law. That is to say, when no suitable situation can be found for applicants Unemployment Benefit (under the conditions of the Insurance Act) should be paid, or in the cases of applicants belonging to industries not yet admitted to Unemployment Insurance, or those who have run out of benefit, provision for maintenance at adequate rates which shall take into account the prevailing cost of living should be substituted.

All Trade Unions paying Unemployment Benefit should receive from the Government a subsidy of not less than 7s. 6d. per member, such sum to be the minimum benefit paid by the Union.

As the amount of Unemployment Benefit under the Insurance Act (viz., 7s. per week) is quite insufficient for maintenance, insured persons should also receive the maintenance allowance, in addition to their Unemployment Benefit. It should be remembered that all Unemployment Benefit is granted in virtue of contributions having been made by the insured persons.

The above proposals relate to Government responsibilities as regards legislation and administration, and references have been made to Employment Exchanges on the assumption that satisfactory arrangements are made between the Trade Unions and the Exchanges. But it is urgent that the Trade Unions movement should realize the necessity of taking industrial action of a systematic and determined kind to reduce hours, to prevent overtime, and to secure such other advantages in accordance with this Memorandum as is possible apart from the Government.

Unemployment Insurance.

It would appear that the plan of contributory Unemployment Insurance for selected trades is one which cannot meet the probable necessities of the worker after the war, and that the provisions of the new Act entail a special hardship upon women.

Administrative Defects of the Present Act.

The number of decisions which have now been given by the Umpire make the difficulties of demarcation only too obvious. The lines drawn between uninsured and insured trades do not, in many cases, correspond to any real trade distinctions or to any permanence in insured occupations on the part of the worker. To take but one instance, workers employed in socks, hosiery, and stockings are insured if these articles are needed for use in war and not insured if only for commercial use. It is clear that in such a case a worker might easily be in and out of insurance and might pay contributions for which no adequate returns can be received. The workers in

many other trades are in the same position.

Again, the experience of unions paying an insurance benefit in some of the more settled tends to show that in such occupations benefits larger than those provided by the Government scheme can be secured through their trade organization for smaller contributions. Many classes of workers will, therefore, find themselves prejudiced by the Government's scheme. Some will be paying contributions for smaller benefits than they could secure otherwise. Others may be passing continually from insured to uninsured trades, and it is very doubtful whether in the end they would be in a position to secure any benefit for the contributions paid.

Those in a more satisfactory position have shown their unwillingness to come under the Act. Their action, though absolutely justified, will have doubtless the effect of upsetting the financial forecasts on which the whole Act has been based.

Special Difficulties of Women.

The difficulties and inconsistencies indicated above apply with special force to the case of women.

Many of those on "war work" will not come under the Act at all. The workers included are those who come within the definition of munition workers laid down in the Munitions of War Acts; but this does not include a very large number of women who are likely to be displaced from their present employ-

ment upon the cessation of the war. It does not include, e.g., many thousands of those employed in the transport and distributive trades, and in many trades in which only a section of workers come under the definition of munition workers. These women are in many cases taking the place of men, and, though, not war workers in the sense of the Munition etcs, are engaged in their particular employment at present on account of the war, and are likely to be displaced in large numbers when the war ends.

Further, the Act is now applied to women who are not included in the Statutory Orders of the Ministry of Munitions with regard to wages, and there may well be a large number of them who are compelled to pay the weekly contribution of 2½d. from a wage as small as 12s. Even in the case of the women who come under the Order referred to, it is no small hardship to pay this from wages fixed at amounts varying from 16s. With the present cost of living this hardship is a very real one.

As to those who are engaged on war work for part of their time only, there is a permissive clause in the Act which allows of their remaining insured by arrangement with their employers when they take on private work instead of war work in the same factory. But it is well known from experience that such permissive clauses are very difficult to make understood or even known amongst women workers, a large number of whom are still unorganized, and the clause has

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the further disadvantage that the consent of the employer must be obtained. The clause is, therefore, likely to be of small avail, and the women who are on and off war work will be a very long time getting into benefit. On the other hand, it is competent for the Board of Trade to include in the compulsory provisions of the act the whole of any trade in which a substantial part is engaged in war work.

It will be seen, therefore, that the administrative provisions of the Act are not such as to secure the end proposed, that is, an allowance of 7s. a week for all war workers who may be thrown out of employment when peace returns.

But, further, even supposing that the Act was so framed as to secure this benefit for all who lost their employment owing to the cessation of hostilities, we desire to record our conviction that the

benefits provided are not adequate. Unemployment Benefit of 7s. a week is not to be taken as satisfying the needs of workers who may be thrown out of employment when peace comes, or as anything more than a very small instalment of the necessary provision to be made. Recent observations which have appeared in the Press seem to point to an idea amongst politicians that this extension of Unemployment Insurance is thought to be a substantial means of meeting the after-war situation.

The crisis of unemployment which may occur at the end of the war is a crisis due to national emergencies and not to ordinary trade vicissitudes, and it is not, therefore, reasonable to ask that those trades which will be affected should make special provision for unemployment; the emergency will be due to national necessities, and should, therefore, be shared by the whole nation.

Labour and An After-War Economic Policy

By the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P.

The speeches and declarations of our leading Statesmen, delivered in the early months of the war, provide ample evidence to show that this country became an active participant in the gigantic world-struggle for only the highest and best motives. Speaking in the House of Commons as Prime Minister, within a week of the declaration of war, Mr. Asquith said:—

If I am asked what we are fighting for, I reply in two sentences. In the first place to fulfil a solemn international obligation... Secondly, we are fighting to vindicate the principles that small nationalities are not to be crushed in defiance of international good faith. I do not believe any nation ever entered into a great controversy with a clearer conscience and stronger conviction that it is fighting not for aggression, not for the maintenance even of its own selfish interests, but that it is fighting in defence of principles the maintenance of which is vital to the civilization of the world.

Such, then, in broad lines, were the principal objects for which the British people unsheathed the sword. We assumed the rôle of champion of the sanctity of international treaties and of the rights of small nations, and sought to

impress upon the world that we desired neither territorial expansion nor artificial economic advantage. This high conception of national duty inspired the entire population of the British Empire and its Dependencies, and produced an unparalleled display of unity and determination. Our armed intervention, taken with the full approval of practically the whole nation, was to be a clear and emphatic demonstration of our stern and uncompromising hostility to the salvage recourse to the use of force and the wicked and indefensible violation of the integrity of a neighbouring State by the German Government, which confessed that it regarded its treaties as "scraps of paper", and excused its act of wilful aggression on the plea that "necessity knows no law." And to-day, after more than three years of military effort, unprecedented in its toll of sacrifice—human, material and financial—the majority of the people of these isles remain loyal to the high ideals and principles which animated them at the outbreak of hostilities, and are as firmly determined as ever to prosecute the war until these fundamental objects have

been attained by victory secured by military, diplomatic or political means.

British Labor is convinced, as it has been from the beginning, that a victory for German Imperialism would be the defeat and the destruction of democracy and liberty in Europe. In the peace settlement practical provision must be made against any future recurrence of the present terrible world-calamity by the elimination of aggressive militarism from the entire world and, what is equally important, by the removal of all the old-standing menaces and the prevention of new provocations to war—political or economic. This desirable end can best be secured by the establishment of a federation of free democracies, which is the surest guarantee of a permanent peace. The workers feel that if the present world-conflict is a war to end war, its settlement must be based upon the will of all the peoples, and such as will permit the nations, large and small, to dwell in amity and concord.

If the suggested Federation of Nations is to have any prospect of real and permanent success, and if the present struggle is to be looked back upon as the war which ended all war, everything must be done to prevent the division of Europe into two separate and hostile economic camps after the war. It may safely be said that the latter eventuality would be fatal to all our hopes of a permanent peace, and a great betrayal of a righteous and noble cause. Instead of securing the abolition of war, it would perpetuate international suspicion, jealousy and greed, the evil products of economic antagonisms which contributed so largely to the general causes of the present European conflict, and would lead inevitably to a bitter and devastating repetition of all the losses, sorrow, suffering and sacrifice within a few short years.

It cannot be too clearly understood that this is not the policy of organized Labor in this country, nor of the Socialists of France, Russia, Belgium or Italy, all of whom have declared emphatically that they do not pursue the political and economic crushing of Germany. These representatives of the working classes and those in close association with them know full well that all attempts at economic aggression, whether by protective

tariffs or capitalistic trusts or monopolies, lead inevitably to the exploitation of the working classes. They cannot regard with any other feeling than one of deep hostility any proposal or policy which seeks utterly to destroy the economic position of the German people after the war; and if this is to be the intention or possible effect of the Paris Conference Resolutions, then it would be well to understand at once that organized Labor in this country is determined not to allow the normal economic relations of nations to be founded on a policy of oppression and ostracism, producing, as it must, hostility and hatred after the war.

British Labor is out to strangle and stamp under foot Kaiserism and Militarism, and to substitute for them goodwill and fraternity; it is not at war with the peoples of Germany and Austria, except in so far as they support the war policy of their autocratic rulers. That it appreciates the danger of an economic struggle was clearly indicated in a decision reached at the recent Trades Union Congress by 2,339,000 votes to 278,000, or a majority of more than eight to one. The resolution was as follows:—

That the economic conditions created by the War have in no way altered the fundamental truth that Free Trade between the Nations is the broadest and surest foundation for world-prosperity and international peace in the future, and that any departure for the principle of Free Trade would be detrimental to the prosperity of the Nation as a whole.

This overwhelming majority shows very clearly that British Industrial Democracy, as represented by Congress, will decline to subscribe to a policy prejudicial to the economic interests of our own working folk, and that is calculated to prevent the definite and essential reconciliation of free democracies. Therefore, the proposal to cripple Germany financially and to render her impotent commercially by a ruthless trade war may be expected to receive the determined opposition of British Labour and Socialist Movement. Once the British people as a whole realize the true inwardness of such a policy, how far it is out of accord with their own cherished aims in this war

as declared by Mr. Asquith in his Guildhall, Dublin and Cardiff speeches, and opposed to the spirit of international co-operation and good-will, they will reject it as one inspired by a spirit of revenge and consequently a fatal impediment to the attainment and maintenance of world peace.

It is clear, therefore, that the Paris Resolutions, so far as they are intended to form the basis of a policy of organized systematic commercial and economic boycotting which aims at the destruction of German commerce, must be strenuously opposed. They would provide a new standing menace to a healthy internationalism and to the future peace of the world, and impose further burdens upon the consumers in their respective countries.

If this policy of economic repression is to be persisted in, it may prove to be the rock on which the unity of the Nation will be broken, for it must be remembered that no more potent argument has been used by the leaders of all political parties throughout this great conflict in order to secure and retain the active support and co-operation of the workers than that the war must be fought to a successful conclusion so as to safeguard the future for the people and especially for their children. In responding as they did with such striking unanimity and courage, they were influenced by high ideals and great principles, but not by any desire for economic and commercial domination.

If we have amongst us a section of politicians who regard the German people as rightful spoils to be economically exploited and oppressed after the conclusion of hostilities, let them cease talking of a fight to a finish, for no mere military victory can ever be the final stage of the struggle: it would only mean a transfer of the venue, with a change of weapons from the military

to the economic. But British Labour, and especially the organised section, will refuse to regard the German and Austrian Socialists in that light.

The fundamental purpose of British Labour in continuing its support of the war is the hope that it may influence the development of world democracy. In order that this may be accomplished, it is determined that the peace terms shall be just and honorable, and such as shall erect no barriers that will prevent the realisation of these high ideals. A spirit of revenge, if introduced, would vitiate the findings of any peace conference and make a democratic peace an impossibility. Moreover, British Labour appreciates the difficulty that has arisen already by the promulgation of the suggested policy of commercial repression and its effect in prolonging the war. France, Russia and America all provide evidence that the objects and aims of England are suspected; consequently we have persistent demands for a restatement of our position, both politically and economically. What is the use of saying to the German people that if they want peace they must at once become masters in their own house, that they must destroy the Kaiser's power for evil and that they must come into line with the free democracies of the world, if we increase their already serious difficulties by intimating that when they have succeeded they are not to be a free people but to be commercially and economically isolated? What is to be thought of a statesmanship which invites the German people to form part of a Federation of Nations for the maintenance of a world peace and at the same time proclaims the intention of constructing a Federation of Allies for no other object than the setting up of a commercial boycott of Germany? Such a proposal, under all the terrible experiences of the war, may appeal to

a section of the people influenced by the wounded feelings of to-day without regard to the consequences of the morrow; but when the full effects are realised they will be found to be not only dangerous but criminal, and the sooner they are officially repudiated the better will it be for the Allied Cause.

These contradictory After-War Proposals, and the suspicion and doubt as to where Britain now stands, only render it more imperative that our aims and objects should be clearly restated in order that the world may know why it is we continue to fight. General Smuts has stated that the war is already won and all that is required is for the Allies to sit tight until Germany acknowledges her defeat. If that is so, how important it is that we should be satisfied that the struggle is to be continued because of failure to obtain the ideal peace settlement, and not because of misunderstandings as to our terms. It should not be difficult to give to the country the assurance that we continue to remain loyal to the position as expressed by Mr. Asquith in 1914 and that we are fighting neither for conquest nor economic boycott.

We do not lose sight of that aspect of the economic question as it affects our overseas Dominions and Dependencies, for we consider that without repression and revenge it would be possible to make such arrangements as would improve the relationship between them and the Mother Country, both with regard to food supplies, raw materials and essential industries, without a revolution in our fiscal system. On this point, Sir Robert Borden, speaking as Prime Minister of Canada, has said that the people of Canada would not desire the people of the United Kingdom to change their fiscal policy for the purpose alone of giving a preference to the producers of Canada, especially if the proposed fiscal changes would involve any injustice or be regarded as oppressive by any considerable portion of the people of the United Kingdom. After calling attention to the Imperial Preference Resolution approved by the Imperial War Cabinet, which runs:—

The time has arrived when all possible encouragement should be given to the development of Imperial resources, and especially to the making the Empire independent of other countries in respect of food supplies, raw materials and essential industries. With these objects in view this Conference expresses itself in favour of:—

1.—The principle that each part of the Empire, having due regard to the interests of our Allies, shall give specially favourable treatment and facilities to the produce and manufacture of other parts of the Empire.

2.—Arrangements by which intending emigrants from the United Kingdom may be induced to settle in countries under the British flag.

the Canadian Premier continued:—

I should say at once that this resolution does not necessarily purpose, or even look to, any change in the fiscal arrangements of the United Kingdom. It does not involve taxation of food; it does not involve the taxation of anything. As far as the fiscal system of the United Kingdom is concerned, I followed when in England precisely the same course that I have carried out in this Parliament and this country—I decline to interfere in matters which are the subject of domestic control and concern in the United Kingdom. I decline to invite them to change their fiscal policy. These matters are within their control, as our fiscal policy is within ours. And I would go further, and say that the people of Canada would not desire the people of the United Kingdom to change their fiscal policy for the purpose alone of giving a preference to the producers of this country, especially if the proposed fiscal changes should involve any injustice, or should be regarded as oppressive by a considerable portion of the people of the United Kingdom. But what this proposal looks to, as I understand it, is this—that we can within the Empire get better and cheaper facilities of communication than we have enjoyed up to the present time. That, I believe, is the line along which the change indicated will proceed. The question of transportation has been a very live one, a very important one to the producers of this country, especially those of the western provinces. We know that before the commencement of war the cost of transportation across the Atlantic increased twofold or threefold. There was sometimes a dearth of ships. I hope and believe that there will be concerted action and co-operation between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the Overseas Dominions, by which speedier, better, and more economical transportation will be provided between the Mother Country and the Overseas Dominions, and between the Overseas Dominions themselves. So that, in this light, I am confident that the resolution passed by the Conference will receive favorable consideration by the people of this country.

Here, then, we have a clear recognition of the position of the United Kingdom

and the possibility of some arrangement being made which would be acceptable to Canada and other Dominions without carrying with it any risk of injury to our own people. British Labor desires to maintain the policy of the Open Door because this policy is more beneficial to the workers than a policy of commercial restriction and isolation. Moreover, it believes that it would afford immense possibilities in the way of Government action and organization for the highest development of the resources of every part of the Empire, which could be secured without imposing new and heavy burdens on the working classes. Instead of commercial antagonism and repression it desires a full recognition of the need for concerted international arrangements having for their object a general improvement of working conditions of labor, wages, etc., by means of interna-

tional factory legislation to operate in every country, where a greater measure of social and economic contentment may be secured for the workers of all nations and safeguards imposed against being economically exploited or oppressed. The future must be an improvement on the present and the past, but no improvement can be obtained from an economic war, because this double-edge weapon imposes fatal results on all peoples. Of this Labor is convinced, that a world peace which is broadly based on the expressed will of free democracies cannot be assisted by a temporary or perpetual economic war. And a peace which does not properly recognize the natural economic rights of all peoples will be neither democratic nor lasting.

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THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS

By CHARLES DUNCAN, M.P.

50 Years' Progress.—War Record of Labour.— The Workers and the Future.

The past week has seen the most memorable event in the history of Labor in the Jubilee Congress at Derby. Fifty years is a lengthy period in the life of what after all is a modern movement. Starting in a most modest and unpretentious fashion, it is a living example of the foresight, courage, and desperate tenacity of purpose which to-day is reasserting itself in view of the whole world on the battlefields of France and Flanders in the grimmest and most terrible struggle the world has ever witnessed, and this tenacity of purpose must inevitably win right through in the end. It is the possession of these qualities to a greater extent than other nationalities that first originated the trade union movement in this country, which has grown to the magnificent total of four and a-half millions of workmen and women represented at this the greatest and most successful Congress ever held in any country in the world.

This movement has spread to every civilized country in the world, but the

British people take the whole credit for not only starting it, but also for modelling the lines which to-day are copied the world over. It requires little imagination to realize the sturdy, self-reliant spirit of the men who took pride of place in the early days, there was nothing weak or effeminate in their physical or mental make-up. They carried their industrial lives in their hands. The attitude of employers, and even of the great mass of the workpeople themselves, was definitely hostile. They ran great risks. They sacrificed all. They worked unceasingly and unremittingly at their voluntary task. They saw further, they felt more intensely, than the general run of men, the evils surrounding them. They talked and toiled and thought, not of revolutions, but of making to-day better than yesterday and to-morrow better than to-day.

The names of those early pioneers are still treasured in the memories of all trade unionists—Alexander Macdonald, Thomas Burt, Charles Fenwick, Henry

Broadhurst, George Howell, Ben Pickard, John Burns, Keir Hardie, Tom Mann, and many others. Few have lived through to witness the glorious success of their efforts, but of those few the oldest is Thomas Burt. Who that has ever met him can think of a finer, sweeter soul, courageous yet modest, bold but ever cautious, staunch but always willing to see the other side of the case; a man of character in every fibre of his body, still loved, honoured, esteemed, and cherished by all who can call him friend? It is a life's toil of living sacrifice by men like him that laid the foundations of this movement, on a basis which will last for all time.

Labor and the War.

I must now deal with the splendid wartime record of Organized Labor during the war as a whole. When war broke out in August, 1914, the usual crop of strikes was in existence. An appeal was immediately made by the Government, asking the trade unions, in face of the terrible ordeal the nation was faced with, to forthwith close down every trade dispute. The response was immediate and general. Never before has such a demand been made. Never was a response made more quickly and instantly. Industrial peace was at once secured. In March, 1915, a conference of the principal trade union officers was summoned to the Treasury in Whitehall to consider the gravity of things industrial in this country and to devise ways and means for ensuring a continuance of industrial peace during the war, and further, the speeding up of the production of all the implements and munitions of war, so as to place our rapidly expanding Army in possession of all the essentials to the successful prosecution of war. From this gathering of trade union officials the Munitions of War Act was evolved.

It should always be remembered in this connection that compulsory industrial arbitration had always been resolutely rejected by ever-increasing majorities by every Trade Union Congress held prior to the war. This was all on record. It was a matter of common knowledge to every trade unionist throughout the land. At the Treasury meeting we were asked to accept the responsibility of agreeing to its introduc-

tion and permanent establishment for the duration of the war. If ever a body of men were put to the test in the nation's need, if ever a body of men were asked to assume a serious and grave responsibility, surely it was at this tragic moment, and magnificently they rose to the occasion. For two whole days the matter was debated, and eventually the Treasury agreement was drafted, signed, agreed to, and accepted. Since that date no official strike has taken place in any of the industries covered by the Munitions of War Act. It is true that strikes of an unofficial and spasmodic character have occurred from time to time, but let it be always remembered, to the eternal credit of Organized Labor, that such strikes were small, that they were of brief duration, that they were unofficial, and that millions of organized munition workers were diligently working away regularly and persistently "delivering the goods." It is well that mention should be made of the scrapping of all rules, customs, and practices which in any way tended to the restriction of output, and, further, owing to the scarcity of skilled labor, the willingness of the various skilled trade unions to accept the dilution of labor. The whole basic principle on which the skilled trade unions had hitherto existed went by the board. No greater sacrifice had ever before been either asked for or made.

The result in the production of munitions of war is a matter of history and common knowledge. In speech after speech the present Prime Minister told the country of the enormous progress which had been made. The people were surprised and delighted to realise this magnificent development brought about by the sacrifices of the unions and by the introduction of woman's labour into all engineering and munition establishments. To-day there are roughly two millions of women engaged in this work, where before the war very few thousands of women were to be seen.

Labour Ministers.

I must hurry on and deal in a few brief lines with the future of the Labor movement. Labour is coming into its

own. It is safely seated in the War Cabinet, in the Ministry of Pensions, in the Ministry of Food, in the Board of Trade, in the Home Office, and in the new Ministry of Labour, and these men have and are standing the supreme test. They are steadily "making good" and proving, if proof were necessary, the possession of high administrative ability. To-day nobody questions the intense loyalty of Labour, and the Derby Trades Union Congress, by its decisions, has proved this "up to the hilt" and beyond shadow of doubt.

Perhaps one of the most important questions discussed at the Congress has been the question of amalgamation. There are to-day nearly fifteen hundred trade unions in Great Britain. As far back as 1851 the Amalgamated Society of Engineers was formed, and since then little has been done in this direction. The outstanding feature of recent years has been the development of the lesser skilled trade unions. These unions are developing at an exceedingly rapid rate, one federation of quite a small number of these unions covering a membership of nearly a million workers. These unions are now diligently taking up the question of amalgamation. One such new body has recently been born covering a membership of considerably over half a million members. There can or need be little doubt that this new feature will occupy considerable attention in the near future. It is not "in the air"; it is in the minds of the rank and file, and business is meant, not bounce.

Whitley Councils

Another new feature is the establishment of joint industrial councils under the Whitley Report. By this method throughout a whole industry, in all its ramifications throughout the country, employers and the trade unions concerned are being brought to-

gether, mainly for the purpose of settling differences in an amicable manner. Many industries are already covered. It is, of course, impossible as yet to prophecy where this new movement will lead. That it is immensely important no one doubts. That its results in eliminating friction will prove beneficial goes without saying. That greater and ever increasing responsibility must be accepted in the future by all trade union officers is obvious. This can only result in bringing out bigger and better men on both sides of future conference tables, all taking a wider and more comprehensive view of their obligations both to the people they represent and the nation as a whole. In this direction lies the great hope of industrial labour. We must work out our salvation in our own way, and with judgment, tact, and discretion. Greater strides must come in the more complete organisation of the thirteen or fourteen millions of manual workers in Great Britain.—*The Observer*, (London, Eng.,) September, 1918.

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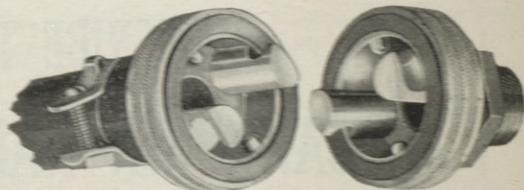
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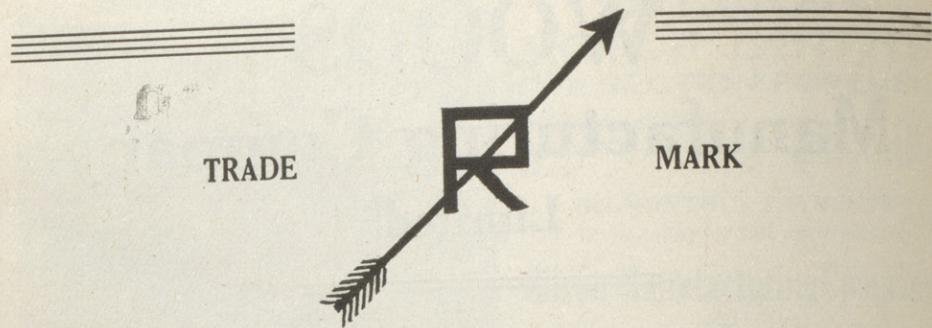
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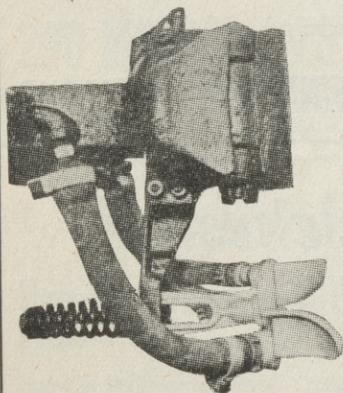
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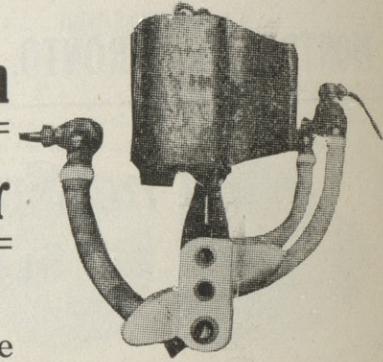
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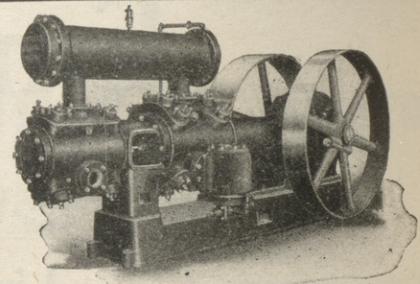
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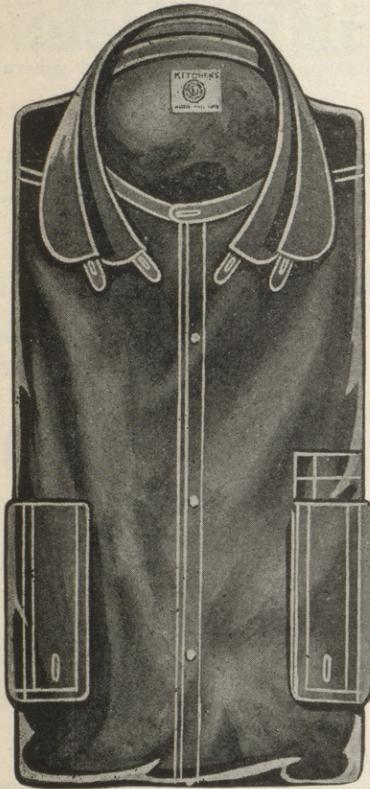
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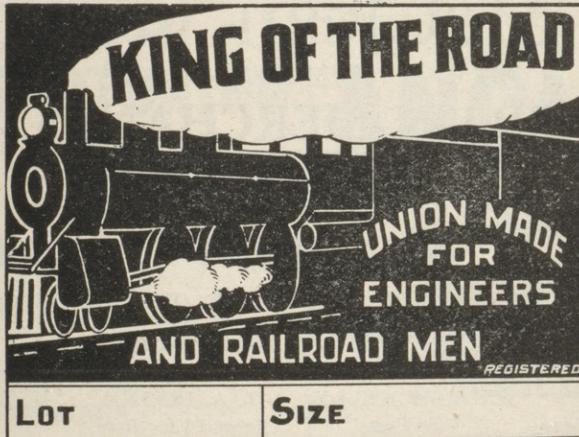
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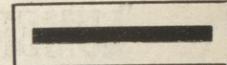
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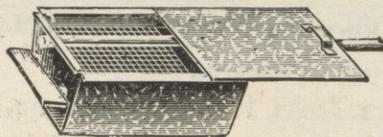
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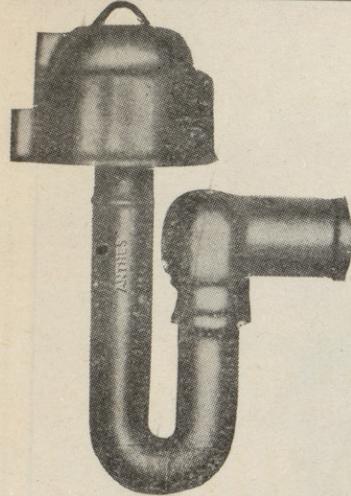
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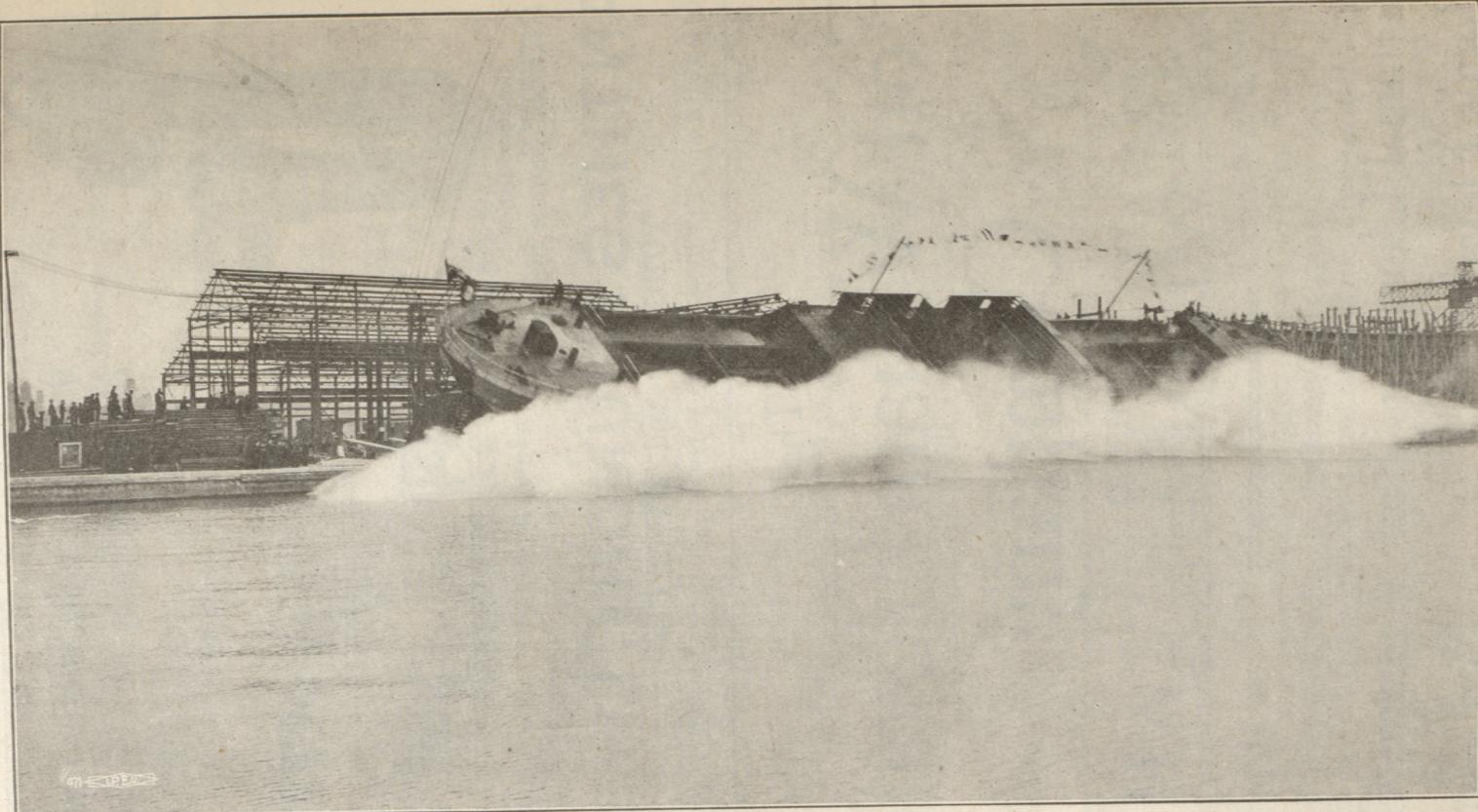
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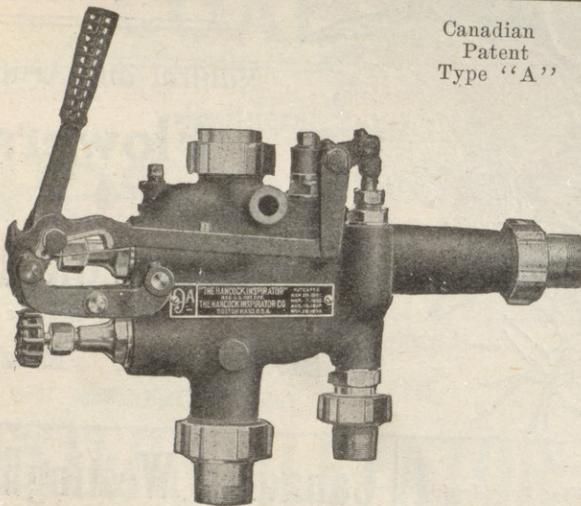
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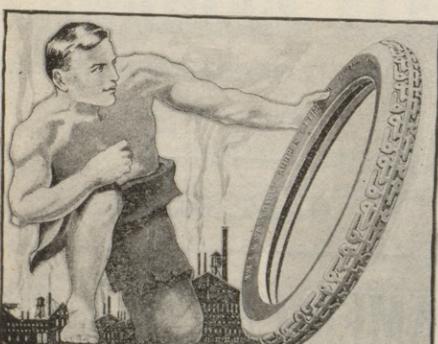
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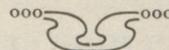
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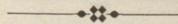
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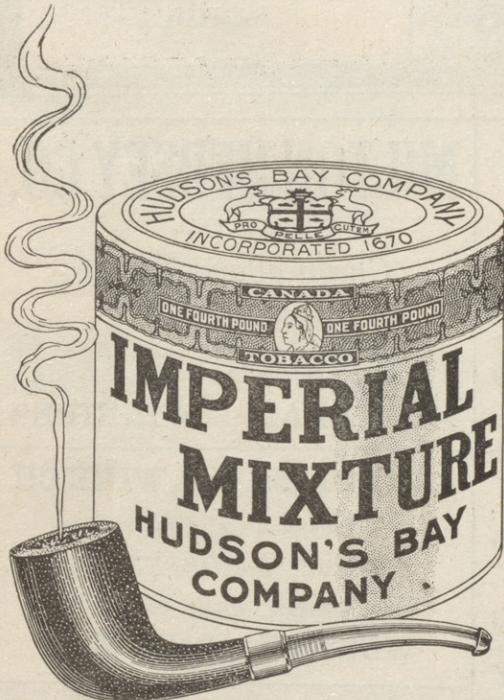
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